Illegitimacy in Germany

Current HISTORY

JULY, 1937 **PRICE 25 CENTS**

SPOTLIGHTS on CANADA

(*Four Articles*)

CURRENT HISTORY, INCORPORATED

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TWO dresses for less than her mother used to pay for *one*. Mary's new ready-made dresses, compared with those her mother bought 20 years ago, are in better style, have fast colors, and are chosen from a far wider range of exciting new fabrics.

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JULY 1937

ARTICLES

FEATURES

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N. B. Cousins
Literary Editor

The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
The Third Reich	Henri Lichtenberger	Greystone	$3.00
Hitler's Drive to the East	F. Elwyn Jones	Dutton	$1.00
The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism	Robert A. Brady	Viking	$3.00
Flood-light on Europe	Felix Wittmer	Scribners	$3.75
A Good Word for Democracy	S. E. Forman	Appleton-Century	$1.50
What is Ahead of Us?	(Fabian Lecture Series)	Macmillan	$2.00
Bulwark of the Republic	Burton J. Hendrick	Little, Brown	$3.50
The Supreme Court and the National Will	Dean Alfange	Doubleday, Doran	$2.50
Twenty Years as a Military Attaché	T. Bentley Mott	Oxford	$2.50
The Life of Lord Carson, Vol. III	Ian Colvin	Macmillan	$5.00
Old Fuss and Feathers	Arthur D. Howden Smith	Greystone	$4.00

FIVE years ago this month the figure of a swastika was tattoed onto the face of an unsettled, uncertain Germany. The historians have not been idle during this time and a considerable literature has sprung up around the phenomenon of National Socialism. Up to now, Professor Frederick L. Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship* has won more recognition, perhaps, than any other single book on the subject. But the high estate enjoyed by Dr. Schuman's competent work must now be shared with *The Third Reich*, an extensive inquiry and analysis of contemporary Germany by Henri Lichtenberger.

Dr. Lichtenberger is a Frenchman and it might appear that this accident of environment would prevent him from viewing Germany with any degree of objectivity; if, indeed, objectivity is possible in a consideration of Nazi rule. But the author, Director of Germanic Studies at the Sorbonne, has avoided the role of judge and jury, concerning himself with a history, not an upbraiding, of Germany since the war, with particular emphasis upon the events of the last half-dozen years. The result is that *The Third Reich* is a book armed to the teeth with facts. There is no haven here for inexactitudes or the loose threads of half-way knowledge.

On the surface and according to government front-men, it would appear that Germany's economic complexion has brightened considerably in the last few years. But close inspection reveals that the economic structure has no sound foundation and is propped up by the instruments of war. The manufacture of armaments, the author points out, has made it possible for the third Reich to claim an economic revival.

But though the smokestacks of the munitions factories may be going at full blast, there is a conspicuous inactivity in other industries. German exports have suffered heavily and recent devaluation has been estimated to result in a loss of between 80 and 100 million marks in foreign exchange. Unable to achieve a favorable balance of trade, Germany has embarked upon a retaliatory course of self-sufficiency. In four years she believes she can be "wholly inde-

pendent," in the words of the Fuehrer, of foreign countries "in respect to all those materials which can in any way be produced through German capability, through German chemistry, or by machine and mining industries." Hitler believes, too, that the *ersatz* (synthetic products) manufactures will enable him to absorb many of the millions thrown out of work when his armament program is completed.

Employment figures are relatively high in Germany, but the average wage has been lowered and hours have been lengthened. The principal aim of Nazi economic policy toward labor, Dr. Lichtenberger observes, has not been to increase the purchasing power of the people, nor to satisfy their growing needs by developing consumers' goods industries, as normally occurs during periods of "prosperity." For the great bulk of the workers the standard of living, he adds, has not improved and in some cases was even lowered.

What of the future? It would be dangerous to predict an immediate foundering of the Nazi ship of state, for in many ways it has carried off its objectives, right or wrong, with a measure of success. Yet it is equally dangerous to say that there will not be an economic collapse, perhaps in the near future. For the question largely revolves about the ability of the German people to continue their acceptance of a reduced standard of living, even though as a nation Germany has shown herself capable of enduring the most severe privations and is endowed with a Spartan spirit which looks to the state above the individual.

The sympathies of few Frenchmen, Dr. Lichtenberger finds in a chapter similar to a postscript, have gone out to the Nazis. France is opposed to the substitution of a religion of heroism for a religion of love. France is not geared to the goosestep and finds it difficult to think of individuals in terms of impersonalized military units. France is shocked, too, by the calculated violence with which the Nazis subdue their enemies, gazing in horror at the butchery of the blood purge. France has an irreducible skepticism towards the Nazi myth of race and will not condone persecution of religious minorities. And France finds that the important aspects of man towards man are his *resemblances*, rather than his *differences*, recalling the "universal human" of Goethe.

Yet France watches with interest and is withholding her condemnation of certain phases of Nazi rule. Although she herself could not impose upon the Frenchman a campaign of sports training and physical culture, nor maintain youth camps, she is willing to concede that this aspect of Nazism may not be without its benefits for Germans. And though France has evinced a curiosity on the subject of the new eugenics policy of Hitlerism, she is frankly skeptical of such a powerful weapon in the hands of a Nazi state.

Whether the Rhine will soon again see war between Germany and France, Dr. Lichtenberger does not profess to know. For his part, he hopes that the traditional and emotional and philosophical differences between the two nations will not find their outlets on the battlefield. France and Germany should "agree to disagree." Neither country need adopt the tenets of the other, nor should either one permit the tenets of the other to precipitate a clash which may destroy both peoples.

DR. LICHTENBERGER's hope for peace between France and Germany is not too remote, at least according to F. Elwyn Jones in *Hitler's Drive to the East*, a well-written and concise explanation of German expansionist aims. The Fuehrer has recognized that if Germany is to expand, it cannot be on French soil. In *Mein Kampf*, the Nazi chief wrote that Germans had stopped the "eternal march to the south and west of Europe and turned our eyes towards the land in the east." Thus Hitler adopts the same goals that caused the outbreak of the World War. The mistake of Emperor Wilhelm may well be the folly of the Fuehrer.

Germany's ultimate aim, according to the author, is to forge a *Mittel Europa*, reaching from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the Rhine to the Dniester. The strategy also entails driving a wedge between France and England on the west and Russia on the east. After marooning Russia from the rest of Europe, Germany would have a highway to the Ukraine through which she could

march her armies. And though Germany may expect that Italy will not take kindly to the prospect of losing influence in the Danubian and Balkan countries, the Nazis believe they are smart enough to eat Il Duce's cake and have his friendship, too. A correspondent summarized Germany's policy towards Italy as one of "cooperation in secondary interests and of veiled opposition in primary interests."

In its attempt to extend its sphere of influence over the small eastern states of Europe, Germany has already laid its pipe lines of propaganda. Direct intervention is being taken in the internal affairs of the smaller nations. Newspapers have been bought; corrupt politicians have been subsidized; the Gestapo has carried on a well-planned reign of terror. Should the entire scheme succeed, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania would become puppet states of Germany.

A supplementary theme of Mr. Jones' handy, pocket-sized volume is that internal opposition to the Nazi party is widespread. The author says that despite the organized terror, leftist groups have filtered through the organization ranks of the Nazis and are busy practicing Dimitrov's theory of the Trojan Horse—dismantling from within. In discussing this type of opposition, Mr. Jones declares that various methods of anti-fascist propaganda have been employed with a fair share of success. Gramophone records begin with Viennese waltzes and end with attacks upon Hitler; pamphlets outwardly resembling party journals contain revelatory information about concentration camps, prisoners, arrests, and executions; a person is given a German dictionary and opens it to find an extensive vocabulary, although not in alphabetical order and bristling with vituperation against the Nazi government.

This cleavage in Germany is but one example of the divisive forces at work all over the world today, contends Robert A. Brady in *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*. Although his main theme is concerned with the mechanics through which Nazism operates, Dr. Brady emphasizes that there are clashing forces everywhere that are slowly separating the people of every nation into warring camps: popular front and fascist, red and reactionary, capital and labor. This break runs like a widening geological fault through all the layers of society.

Perhaps the most significant point brought home in *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism* is that exactly the same forces which gravitated for the introduction and establishment of Naziism are at work in all other countries and that, "for better or worse, there is no possibility

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A supplementary theme of Mr. Jones' handy, pocket-sized volume is that internal opposition to the Nazi party is widespread. The author says that despite the organized terror, leftist groups have filtered through the organization ranks of the Nazis and are busy practicing Dimitrov's theory of the Trojan Horse—dismantling from within. In discussing this type of opposition, Mr. Jones declares that various methods of anti-fascist propaganda have been employed with a fair share of success. Gramophone records begin with Viennese waltzes and end with attacks upon Hitler; pamphlets outwardly resembling party journals contain revelatory information about concentration camps, prisoners, arrests, and executions; a person is given a German dictionary and opens it to find an extensive vocabulary, although not in alphabetical order and bristling with vituperation against the Nazi government.

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QUESTIONS *and* ANSWERS

Taken from our radio quiz "CURRENT HISTORY EXAMS" (Sta. WHN, Wed. 8:45-9:15 P.M.)

THE QUESTIONS:

1. Is Hungary officially a republic or a kingdom?
2. With what country do you identify (a) the 4-year plan; (b) the 5-year plan; (c) the 6-year plan?
3. What is the Gestapo?
4. What is the Ogpu?
5. Was it Hitler of Germany or Stalin of Russia who said in a May Day address this year that he would tolerate no criticism of the State's morals, at the same time threatening to drive protesting churches "back to the domains of their spiritual and ministerial functions"?
6. Was it Stalin of Russia or Hitler of Germany who said in a May Day address this year that his Government would take children away from "old fogey" parents, and train them?
7. What is the Fianna Fail?
8. What is the Dail?
9. By whom and how were the annual Pulitzer prizes in journalism and letters established?
10. What writer was awarded the Pulitzer prize this year for the most distinguished novel of 1936?
11. What is the Pulitzer prize-winning book of U. S. history this year, and who wrote it?
12. What is the origin of the word Zeppelin?
13. In what respect is helium more desirable than hydrogen as a gas to lift dirigibles?
14. In what way is hydrogen more desirable than helium?
15. Since 1925, what three great American dirigibles met with disaster?
16. In what principal respect did loss of the three American dirigibles differ from the destruction of the Zeppelin Hindenburg?

THE ANSWERS:

1. Hungary is a kingdom by proclamation, although at present it has no King, the monarch's duties being exercised by Regent Horthy.
2. Germany has a 4-year plan for industrial self-sufficiency; Russia has a 5-year plan of industrialization; Mexico has a 6-year plan of socialization and Mexicanization.
3. The Gestapo is the German secret police organization.
4. The Ogpu is the Russian secret police organization.
5. Hitler.
6. Hitler.
7. The political party of President Eamon De Valera of Ireland.
8. The Irish Chamber of Deputies.
9. By the late Joseph Pulitzer, publisher, in a bequest to Columbia University.
10. Margaret Mitchell for *Gone With the Wind.*
11. *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks—previously selected by CURRENT HISTORY as one of the 10 most outstanding non-fiction books of 1936.
12. Ferdinand von Zeppelin was a famous designer of dirigibles before the war; several types of dirigibles bear his name.
13. Helium is non-inflammable.
14. Hydrogen is cheaper and lighter than helium and for the latter reason, perhaps, is considered more efficient.
15. The Akron, the Macon, and the Shenandoah.
16. Filled with helium, the American dirigibles did not burn like the Hindenburg.

of avoiding the issues which those forces present for decision to every man and woman who votes, or thinks, or acts."

Strongly opposed to fascism of any type, Mr. Brady believes that a dissection of the methods and conditions under which Hitler rose to power may enable the democratic peoples to better protect themselves against a similar occurrence in their countries. Accordingly, Dr. Brady has taken German fascism apart, piece by piece, and has thrown into sharp focus, as he says, its "spirit and structure."

Mounting unemployment and decline in standards of living which saw its expression in the growth and increased unrest of the revolutionary left caused German capital to strike a bargain with Hitler, the author says. Business arched its back against the encroachments of labor organization and feared that the only alternative to communism was Hitler and National Socialism. Public opinion had been against the point of view of the industrial community. Having failed to keep its factories going, industry was rapidly finding itself hoist on its own petard and turned to Hitler.

The Versailles Treaty was not, as is popularly supposed, Dr. Brady contends, responsible for the deep dissatisfaction of the people. "The thing that generated the nervous unrest of those years was the deep-seated and growing cleavage of society into two irreconciliable camps."

Dr. Brady defines German fascism as a dictatorship of monopoly capitalism—that of a business enterprise organized on a monopoly basis and in full command of all the military, police, legal, and propaganda power of the state. It embodies three principles: the leader principle, the authority principle, and the total principle. "Authority is from the top down; responsibility from the bottom up." Thus, the Nazi system is set up to control completely all activities, thoughts, ideas, and values of the entire nation.

In *Flood-light on Europe*, Felix Wittmer has attempted the commendable task of providing the layman with an understandable and authentic outline of European political affairs. Just as John Gunther succeeded in vivifying Europe's leading personalities, so has Felix Wittmer succeeded in vivifying European politics. Here, in 500 pages made bright by the use of anecdotes and illustrative material, is Europe on parade. But the personality of the author is imposed so strongly upon his book that the procession appears to march to Mr. Wittmer's own tune.

(Continued on page 126)

SHE MUST HAVE GOOD TELEPHONE APPARATUS TO GIVE YOU GOOD SERVICE . . . BELL SYSTEM SERVICE IS BASED ON Western Electric* QUALITY.
* Makers of Bell telephone apparatus for more than 50 years.

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

Supreme Court and Social Security

ON MAY 24 in three historic decisions the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Social Security Act. Affecting directly 26,000,000 workers and 2,700,000 employers, the Act has been called the most comprehensive piece of social legislation in the world. And its validation is easily the greatest New Deal victory.

The decisions sustaining the program were, as before, divided with the unemployment insurance and old-age sections of the Act approved, respectively, five to four and seven to two, while the complementary State legislation was validated by five-to-four. In sum the majority opinions reflected a whole-hearted concurrence in the New Deal philosophy so often set forth by President Roosevelt, while the dissident opinions were as consistently irreconcilable. And if the prior difference of opinion in the court as to the constitution and its interpretation baffled the citizen, these most recent decisions should clarify once and for all the nature of the court division.

Judicial Opinion

Reading the majority opinions upholding the Federal sections of the Act, Justice Cardozo emphatically declared that the welfare clause of the constitution cannot remain "static." Behind the Cardozo opinion was the firm conviction that the Act was not only legal, but justified by contemporary economic conditions. Continuing in the humane tradition that has characterized his work Justice Cardozo held:

"Needs that were narrow or parochial a century ago may be interwoven in our day with the well-being of the nation. What is critical or urgent changes with the times.

"The hope behind this statute is to save men and women from the rigors of the poorhouse as well as from the haunting fear that such a lot awaits them when journey's end is near."

Sharply contrasting this philosophy was the opinion of the dissidents presented by Justice McReynolds who revealed again the uncompromising position of the minority.

"We should keep in mind," Justice McReynolds warned, "that we are living under a written constitution.

"No volume of words and no citation of irrelevant statistics and no appeal to feelings of humanity can expand the powers granted to Congress. Neither can we, by attempts to paint a white rose red, view the situation differently from that seen by the fathers of the Constitution."

Swing Man

Perhaps, never before has the court cleavage as reflected in the two opinions been so revealed to the citizens. Here, in McReynolds' words is contained the spirit of negation that has hampered the President in his drive for reforms which, in the future, may prove all too mild and puny.

Most significant, nevertheless, is that the decisions indicate a liberal continuity in the court. Justice Roberts the Supreme Court "swing man" has apparently learned his turn nicely. And it is a tribute to the astuteness and diplomacy of Chief Justice Hughes that the prestige of the Court is, in some sense, preserved although in a badly battered con-

dition. However, among all men in and out of court, the President has played the greatest role in the judicial regeneration.

Court Plan

It is assumed that with favorable court action, and with the retirement of Justice Van Devanter, the President's court plan will be *withheld from a direct legislative vote. It has* served its purpose, and it is supposed that an acceptable compromise plan will be brought forward and approved. For the President's criticism of a machinery that permits decisions of the national policy to be permanently endangered by one judge, remains valid. Justice Roberts is still the lone pivot. The immediate fate of the unemployment provision of the Social Security Act depended upon the direc*tion of his "swing." One man against millions* —a wondrous spectacle but a silly one.

Wages and Hours

NEVER before in the history of the nation has it been given to one man to say with confidence that: "The time has arrived for us to take further action to extend the frontiers of social progress."

Such was the beginning of President Roosevelt's message to the two houses of Congress immediately following the favorable decision on the Social Security Act. It was the opening gun in a drive to provide fair labor standards in hours and wages for the workers and to destroy child labor.

While examining the problem of working conditions the President emphatically pointed the way for legislative action to insure "all able-bodied working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." As for child labor, he very carefully cited and reviewed an earlier attempt to exclude the products of child labor from interstate commerce, and the consequent Supreme Court ruling invalidating that law. Quoting Justice Holmes dissent from the majority opinion President Roosevelt said: "Although Mr. Justice Holmes spoke for a minority of the Supreme Court, he spoke for a majority of the American people."

In such allusions as this the President made it quite clear that he felt strongly that the Supreme Court with the proper revision would now uphold Federal legislation involving the relation of employer to employe. And this hope he maintained despite last year's Guffey Coal Act case when the Court held such relations outside of Federal jurisdiction.

BIG WORRIES IN THE LIFE OF A GREAT EMPIRE

Legislative Action

*Following the President's message to Con*gress, Senator Black and Representative Connery introduced indentical bills into the House of Congress embodying the President's proposals. The chief provisions were: (1) creation of a wages and hours board empowered to deal with sectional economy; (2) abolishing oppressive labor practices; (3) exclusion from interstate commerce of goods made by children under sixteen, or in violation of standards created by the proposed board.

After some discussion it was decided to eliminate from the original draft of the bill any specified maximum and minimum in wages or hours. Instead it was decided that Congress should delegate power to the proposed Labor Standards Board to fix by industries a workweek of not more than forty hours and not less than thirty. For what exactly the minimum wages and maximum hours will be must wait upon the detailed analysis of regional sectors.

As has often happened before, the Presi-

Glasgow Bulletin

DISTINGUISHED GHOST AT SPITHEAD: THE NELSON TOUCH
"He clapped the glass to his sightless eye, And 'I'm damned if I see it!' he said."

dent's message with its concurrent legislation inspired a flood of mingled approbation and indignation in the public press. The reaction of labor was more guarded. To some labor leaders it appeared that with the wages and hours bill the first wave of the employers' counter attacks upon their hard won positions had begun. Government control of wages and hours among the lowest paid workers would seriously cripple the C.I.O.'s campaign for membership among those workers who have most to gain through strong collective bargaining. This, at least was the first reaction. Since then labor through John L. Lewis has endorsed the principle of the bill with the exception of the minimum wage. This provision labor would endorse only in those industries where collective bargaining does not exist.

Employer Reaction

As for the employers they cannot agree. Some view the measure as a *coup de grace* to the future in foreign trade. Exports from America in the finished goods industry have been predicated in the past on a notoriously low wage. Although marginal producers always ready and waiting to exploit a cheap labor market have not only shipped their coolie-made goods abroad but have infiltrated them into the domestic market cutting the economic throat of legitimate business whose only competitive sin has been that they have paid a living wage. This is, and was, the situation. And many employers welcome the government intervention believing that proper supervision will immediately liquidate the economic cannibals who sell tainted goods in the open market. Statistically, however, the proposed law (assuming that wages will be fixed at 40 cents an hour, and the work-week at a forty hour maximum) will affect the working conditions of a relatively small portion of our national industry. Marginal producers, of course, will disappear, and few will mourn their passing. But among, for example, the 9,644,000 workers (Bureau of Labor estimate) in manufacturing, not more than 1,500,000 are receiving less than 40 cents an hour. And as a whole American business has approached the forty hour week under the pressure of labor organizations.

Half the Story

A few more statistics may be cited which, of course, do not tell even half the story. In the rayon and silk industry little more than half of the workers receive 40 cents or more

per hour. While the cigarette industry reported in 1935 that 45 per cent of the workers received less than 40 cents an hour in an indeterminable work-week. A good deal more than half the workers in the paper box and canning industry are well below the estimated minimum of 40 cents an hour. Here, it would seem, in these industries the proposed wages and hours Board will have its first job and its most difficult one. After that the little chiselers, with their dank sweat shops, or darkened cellars will have to be liquidated. In sum it is a tremendous task that will tax even the most expert. However, in the immediate future legislative debate on the proposed measure should bring out many gruesome facts concerning the existence or non-existence of an American standard of living. The Brookings Institute has already indicated that one third of our population do have a standard of living, one hundred per cent American, though swinishly low.

Steel Labor Meets the Old Guard

WHEN in March, the United States Steel Company reversed its long standing anti-union policy and signed a contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O., it was assumed that trouble in steel was over. Unfortunately this was not true. Three large steel companies all rivals of U. S. Steel recently asserted their independence and proceeded to deal with labor along lines that many believed outmoded.

When approached for signed union contracts the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel and Republic Steel—all located in a narrow strip through Northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—rebelled. They announced that they would bargain under the terms of the National Labor Relations Act, but would not under any circumstances sign contracts.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

BOTH GOING STRONG

Bloodshed

The direct result of the impasse was almost as bloody as the infamous Homestead slaughter. In South Chicago, Ill, pickets clashed with police outside of the Republic Steel Company's plant where a strike had been called. Eight pickets were killed by police gunfire and more than fifty seriously wounded. Following the battle few combatants would agree as to its specific phases. The police accused the pickets of having employed clubs and brickbats. And the strikers pointed to their unarmed dead and wounded, and charged the police with murder.

Nevertheless the Republic Steel Company continued curtailed operations, maintaining non-strikers in the plants by means of food flown over the picket lines in planes. And for the first time in the history of American labor trouble an aerial war developed with (as the company declared) strikers sniping at the planes with high-powered rifles. In addition the company charged that food shipped through the mails was refused by postal officials, and that letters were opened and tampered with by pickets. This latter accusation brought a quick denial from postal authorities who, after investigation, found no evidence of postal violation.

Strategy

In Youngstown, Ohio the court ordered pickets not to interfere with non-strikers' access to the plants. And the Baltimore & Ohio railroad protested at strike interference with car loadings and reported the necessity of laying off men. Thus the labor struggle entered a

second phase in which both strikers and employers made a determined effort to garner public sympathy. As a counter-irritant the Republic Steel company inspired a "back to work movement among loyal employes," contending that outsiders with no stake in the Mahoning Valley were keeping local men from jobs.

In addition, both sides appealed to the Federal Government. The strikers demanded a rigid application of the Labor Relations Bill. The employers demanded armed protection for strike breaking activity. To both camps the Government indicated that there would be no Federal interference. While the Labor Relations Board bided its time waiting for some formal action to be instituted which would come under its jurisdiction.

Cardinal Mundelein vs. Paper-hanger

IT IS no secret that the German Nazis have seized the Catholic Church by the throat. As early as 1933 a concordat was negotiated with the Vatican which, while denying the church political power permitted it to maintain authority over its youth organizations and schools. This latter provision, however, was directly antagonistic to the totalitarian ideal of the state. Control of youth is a pillar of fascism, and a pillar of Catholicism. The concordat intensified rather than eliminated clashes of authority. They became more frequent, and with them the suppression of Catholic publications and youth groups. The Catholics protested and were immediately harassed with civil and criminal charges, among the latter, damning evidence of immorality among the lay brothers of certain orders. Priests were arrested, tried, and convicted in a glare of publicity turned on by a contemptuous and cynical Nazi press.

American Catholics

And into the fires of this conflict George Cardinal Mundelein of the Chicago Archdiocese of the Catholic Church introduced himself before 500 prelates and priests gathered in conference. Without equivocation he bluntly and in detail attacked the treatment of Catholics in Germany.

"The fight is to take the children away from us," he said. "If we show no interest in this matter now, if we shrug our shoulders and mutter, 'Well there may be some truth in it,' or, 'It is not our fight'; if we don't back up the Holy Father, when we have a chance, well, when our turn comes we, too, will be fighting alone.

"Perhaps you will ask how it is that a nation of 60,000,000 people, intelligent people, will submit in fear and servitude to an alien, an Austrian paper-hanger, and a poor one at that, I am told . . . Perhaps it is because it is a country where every second person is a Government spy . . . where the father can no longer discipline his boy for fear the latter will inform on him and land him in prison, where the young tenderly nurtured girl is torn from the mother's side and sent to labor camps to live with the slatterns of the streets in the dangerous years of changing youth . . ."

Nazi Back-fire

Such was Cardinal Mundelein's attack. It delighted anti-Nazis and infuriated the Nazis. In reply the Nazi press beat the anti-Catholic drums louder than ever. They accused the Vatican of sanctioning the speech; they made unofficial representations to the State Department: and triumphantly produced an endless list of priests who had also been busy corrupting tenderly nurtured girls and young boys.

N E A

CAN THIS BE SETTLED SOME WAY?

In the midst of the charges and counter charges, however, Professor Friedrich Schoenmann, a one time Harvard instructor, warned Nazi officials to stop the indiscriminate press campaign against the United States and Americans. "I think it is rather foolish," he said, "and at the same time dangerous, on the part of a certain section of the German press to indulge in wholesale criticism, and even in denunciation, of American civilization as a whole. We underestimated America once, and lost both the World War and the peace which followed." Professor Schoenmann went on to say that in his opinion public sentiment in the United States could be mobilized for war against Germany in a few hours, if such a war were set forth as a great crusade for a great ideal.

Thus the Catholic Church moves forward in uncertainty. From Spain where priest accuses priest, from Mexico where it has met repeated defeats, from Germany where the Nazis turn Jesuitical weapons against it, the Mother Church receives nothing but bad news.

Mr. Baldwin Passes

WHEN Stanley Baldwin, David Lloyd George, and Ramsay MacDonald led the Conservative, Liberal, and Labor Parties of Great Britain, one observer remarked that their roles were strangely jumbled. Ramsay MacDonald, with his aristocratic predilections, should have led the Conservatives; Lloyd George was the revolutionary demagogue of the three; and Stanley Baldwin represented the easy-going Liberalism that characterized a declining party.

The Coronation has witnessed a substantial justification of this analysis. Lloyd George is a powerful engine, which no longer geared to the heavy machine of government, has been shaken loose from its frame by futile thrashing. The radicalism which upset the House of Lords and attacked the rich before the War is gone—save for occasional and erratic flickers. But the "Welsh wizard" can still electrify an expectant crowd or mercilessly lash the Government benches until established leaders bow their heads in humiliation.

Of the three Labor leaders who joined the National Government in 1931, Ramsay MacDonald was the last to leave office; "Jimmy" Thomas resigned in the shadow of disgrace as an indiscreet buffoon, and Philip Snowden is dead, consumed by the same fire and bitter logic that destroyed his own party in his election-eve speech of 1931. And now the burning Socialist from Lossiemouth, who first led Labor into power, has retired into a genteel oblivion. Regarded as an apostate by his foes, and looked upon, even by his friends, as a pathetically vain old man who could never give up the trappings of office, his last public gesture —the refusal of a title—was but a fleeting reminder of his fiery youth. His bequest to English politics has been an indefinite period of Tory rule.

Baldwin the Liberal

Mr. Baldwin on the other hand, will not be remembered as a die-hard and uncompromising Conservative, but as the person who liberalized and broadened the base of his party. And his memory will shine the brighter for the fact that, in such sharp contrast to his immediate predecessor as Prime Minister, he knew when it was time for the last encore. He presents the paradox of a man who leaves office at the height of his substantial glory and yet whose image in the public mind will not change because he will prefer raising pigs and because, as one of his critics has remarked, he "has always been of the opinion that the best thing to happen would be that history should somehow just stop."

It is difficult to trace any thin red thread of consistency throughout Mr. Baldwin's career; probably to do so would distort the picture. He embodied—even caricatured—the "traditional British virtues," and this explains much of his success. His patriotism exercised an unfailing appeal to his countrymen. In fact, it first brought him into prominence, when he offered one fifth of his capital to the nation after the War. It was typical of him that, in his desire to avoid publicity, he made this offer in an anonymous letter to the *Times;* it was also typical of him that he unthinkingly signed the letter "F.S.T."—initials which gave away his identity, for he was then Financial Secretary of the Treasury. And in the same letter he laid himself bare, saying "I have been considering the matter for nearly two years, but my mind moves slowly; I dislike

publicity, I hoped someone else would lead the way."

He is not clever; but Winston Churchill is universally distrusted for his brilliance. And Mr. Baldwin's reputation for solidity and trustworthiness, his love of pigs, his pipe, and English literature have overcome what disabilities he has encountered through what some have called his "bumbling." For instance, only Mr. Baldwin could introduce the most crucial speech of his career with the *gaffe*, "I have had but little time in which to compose a speech for delivery today, so I must tell what I have to tell truthfully, sincerely, and plainly" and get away with it!

"Appalling Frankness"

And most Englishmen found themselves able to forgive his "appalling frankness" in November, when he said of the last election: "Supposing I had gone to the country and said that . . . we must rearm, does anybody think that this pacific democracy would have rallied to that cry. . . ? I cannot think of anything that would have made the loss of the election, from my point of view, more certain." For any other statesman, this would have been a gross betrayal of democracy. *The New Statesman and Nation* attacked the speech bitterly, saying that ". . . notoriously honest men . . . tell the truth nine times with a bluff and 'appalling' frankness in order the better to mislead us on the tenth occasion."

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In all, Stanley Baldwin was a supreme mystic. He viewed events through an optimistic haze; it was much better to leave them alone, and everything would come out all right in the long run. He was incapable of reaching a logical conclusion and following it through. *Laissez faire*, in its widest sense, was the guiding rule of his life. Watching him as Prime Minister was like watching a drunken man on the trapezes; it was breath-taking, but he always managed to swing from one crisis to another, and the prophets of disaster, invariably correct in their criticisms, were just as constantly wrong in their predictions. And so Mr. Baldwin retires gracefully and opportunely as an old-fashioned Liberal; history will tell whether he was justified in his "do nothing" policy and that everything will come out all right or whether, by failing to face the issues of his times, he merely postponed the day of reckoning and accumulated for his successors a vast load of grief.

Mr. Chamberlain Meets the Empire

INSTEAD of the easy-going affability of Mr. Baldwin, Englishmen will now find themselves under the rule of the frigid austerity of Neville Chamberlain. They have exchanged a pipe for a hawk nose. Mr. Baldwin's horizon was limitless, although hazy; Mr. Chamberlain's is circumscribed, but sharply defined. If Mr. Baldwin liberalized his party, Mr. Chamberlain's accession to its leadership returns it to thoroughly Conservative hands, for Neville, the third Chamberlain, represents the imperialism rather than the progressivism of Joseph, the first of the family.

The new Prime Minister is a party rather than a national figure, and he will bring a firmer hand to the helm. So far as domestic issues are concerned, "Augur" reveals in *The New York Times* that "Mr. Chamberlain no doubt will continue Mr. Baldwin's conciliatory policy toward Socialists, yet simultaneously will have to consider measures of resistance when the limit of practical concessions will be reached."

That limit will not be a very distant one, for Mr. Chamberlain's policies closely follow the interests of the industries of Birmingham, his constituency. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he has been the architect of the "new mercantilism" which characterizes English economic policy. The tariffs he introduced, the Ottawa agreements, the middle-class housing program, and the £400,000,000 rearmament loan all follow his pattern of a close national economy—for Great Britain a revolutionary step which does not differ categorically from the policy now pursued by the Reich. In this

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BUT HE'LL JOLLY WELL STAY THERE!

pattern, the new industries of the industrial midlands will benefit from the rising prices of a subsidized market, at the expense of the export industries and the consumer; as Mr. Chamberlain himself admitted, the rearmament program will lower the standard of living of the country for another generation. Among other things, this internal inflation will have the effect of crystallizing the protectionist policy of England and militating against the conclusion of significant trade treaties, such as that sought with the United States.

With respect to foreign policy, it is probable that the new Prime Minister will be a great deal more frank than his predecessor about the National Government's inherent contempt for the idea of a collective system. Rearmament and the Anglo-French Entente will be the cardinal points of British policy, even if Mr. Chamberlain harbors some suspicions of the Popular Front Government in France. Britain will continue to seek peace, even if in somewhat the same manner as a rich man seeks protection against burglars; it will be a *Pax Britannica,* and by no means a Genevan peace.

In Imperial affairs, he will lend his influence to the idea of an Empire more closely knit commercially and financially. In this, he follows out the conception behind the Ottawa agreements and contradicts the liberal and centrifugal trend which followed the War. If he would not actually like to see the Commonwealth of Nations constituted as a defensive-offensive alliance, he would at least seek to bring the Dominions, whose interests often lead them elsewhere, into a closer support of the interests of the central and dominant power—Great Britain.

It was the Imperial field of foreign policy that first demanded the attention of the new Prime Minister. On May 14, the Prime Ministers of all the British Dominions, with the exception of the Irish Free State met for a post-Coronation Imperial Conference. The agenda included the subjects of foreign policy and defense, constitutional questions, trade, and communications; of these, the first bulked the largest, trade being closely allied with it.

The Conference itself was devoid of any striking decisions or any marked agreement. It was professedly held, however, for the purpose rather of surveying common problems and of establishing, if possible, machinery that would provide a framework for joint action in the future; in that the Dominions are now all autonomous powers, the difficulty of obtaining a unified policy was wisely recognized.

The most concrete outcome of the meeting was the plan developed for the pooling of supplies in the event of war; the details of this are to be worked out by the Dominion High Commissioners in London, working with Sir Thomas Inskip, the English Minister for the Coordination of Defense. Even at that, the plan will amount to little more than the regularizing of normal commercial relations. And, it should be mentioned, everything achieved by the Conference will have to be ratified by the Dominion parliaments to be effective. As far as the outside world knows, no agreement was reached on the delicate problem of Dominion participation in another war; the respective Prime Ministers are leaving that to their parliaments if and when the emergency arises and are fighting shy of commitments. The marked silence of the British press suggests some disappointment on this score.

With respect to the important category of trade, Premier Mackenzie King of Canada made an impressive plea at the opening of the Conference for a non-exclusive Commonwealth policy and an agreement with the United States. In fact, the general sentiment of the delegates was that an attempt to lower tariffs,

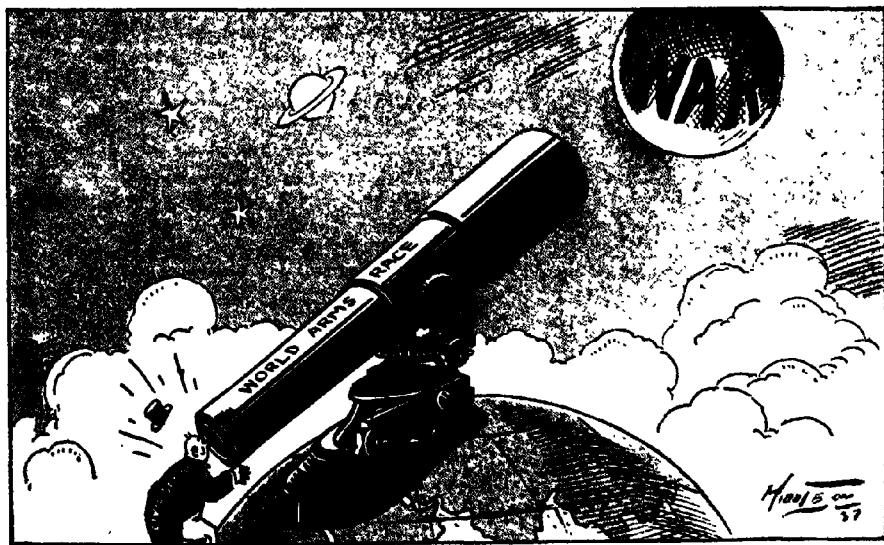
not only within the Commonwealth, but also between the Commonwealth and other nations would set a constructive moral example and act as an influence for peace in a way that would offset any economic losses sustained. Actual agreements were, however, left to the process of bilateral negotiation. And, when the conditions of an Anglo-American agreement came up for discussion, it became clear that considerable Dominion opposition would be encountered, especially from Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, who hesitated to give up the preferences enjoyed in the British market as a result of the Ottawa agreements in the interests of American producers.

Thus, between Dominion reluctance and Mr. Chamberlain's protectionism, the chances for an Anglo-American trade treaty are not of the brightest.

Spanish Crises

THE Spanish civil war threw up three crises during the course of the month. The first was the international crisis following the bombing by the loyalists of the German battleship *Deutschland;* the second was the crisis in the rebels' ranks which resulted from the accidental death of General Mola, and the third was the political upheaval on the loyalist side which precipitated Premier Largo Caballero from office and installed in his place Dr. Negrin, the Socialist.

Of the three developments, the international one contained the most dynamite; from the American point of view it was pregnant with possibilities sufficiently serious to evoke from Senator Borah the assertion that an act of war had been committed by Germany and to bring about the demand in certain quarters that the new neutrality legislation be applied to Germany and Italy and the present embargo on arms to Spain extended to the fascist powers.

The bombing of the *Deutschland* took place on May 29, while the ship was anchored at Iviza in the Balearic Islands. Despite the Valencia Government's allegation that the ship

Birmingham Gazette

THE GREAT TELESCOPE—BRINGING IT NEARER STILL

(The latest gigantic telescopes will be trained on Mars to-day when it will be at its nearest point to the earth)

Daily Herald, London

MOTHER WAR: "Would you rob me of my children?"

had been first to open fire, the Germans embarked upon bitter and bloody reprisals. On May 31, five German warships opened up a heavy bombardment of Almeria on the southeast coast, inflicting extensive damage upon the town and killing at least 20 persons, including women and children.

At Geneva

In strong contrast to this belligerency were simultaneous developments at the League of Nations in Geneva. On May 27, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the Valencia Government's delegate, presented the Council of the League with a White Book, *Italian Aggression*, containing 101 documents taken from captured or killed Italians in Spain. Its purport was to show that fully organized Italian military units were fighting against the loyalists, that their transportation and supplies had been ordered by the Italian war office, and that "all this is tantamount to invasion of Spain by Italy." The Valencia Government did not, however, demand that the League take action; instead the Council indorsed the idea, forwarded by the London Non-Intervention Committee, that hostilities should be limited by the withdrawal of foreign "volunteers" in Spain—part of the wider British plan for an armistice and compromise government.

Such peaceful propositions received a rude shock with the bombing of Almeria and the subsequent withdrawal of Germany and Italy from the non-intervention scheme. General von Blomberg, of the German general staff was in Rome, discussing the possibilities of fascist military cooperation, and the danger of the Spanish civil war spreading to the rest of Europe was greater than at any time since its inception.

Great Britain and France immediately bent all their efforts to persuade Germany and Italy to return to the London Committee and to resume the job of patrolling the Spanish coast. The plan evolved, which seemed likely to be accepted, called for the establishment of safety zones for patrolling warships and the agreement to consult "with a view to further action" in case of a violation of these zones by the belligerents—the qualifying phrase being inserted at the insistence of Hitler.

This proposal promises to improve the situation materially and to avert the danger of the war spreading. The Franco-Russian suggestion of a unified command for the patrolling fleets was, however, rejected. Consequently, it is not likely that intervention will be prevented by the patrol scheme any more than it has been hitherto.

New Loyalist Government

Within Spain itself, the political crisis in the ranks of the loyalists was more noteworthy than the milder dissension that followed the death of General Mola. The ultimate solution was achieved in an orderly and democratic way, despite the tension of the war situation. The new Cabinet, under the leadership of Dr. Juan Negrin, is more moderate than the Caballero Government and represents essentially the victory of the idea that all efforts should be concentrated upon winning the war rather than upon achieving the social revolution; it also springs from the demand that the defense ministries should be unified, which they now are under Indalecio Prieto. All parties, with the exception of the semi-Trotskyite Anarcho-Syndicalists, are represented.

The new Government should assure to the loyalists a more efficient execution of the war. Its relatively liberal and bourgeois complexion will also comfort Great Britain, in that the chances of social revolution are postponed. And the defeat of the Trotskyists will be welcomed in Russia, who is believed to have helped bring about this result.

SPOTLIGHTS *on* CANADA

Four articles on social credit, labor and imperial relations.

The Truth About Aberhart

By BURTON T. RICHARDSON

WHEN William Aberhart became leader of the world's only Social Credit government in the Province of Alberta, his qualifications for the position consisted of a smattering of Social Credit doctrine, a life-long study of the Bible, twenty-five years of teaching elementary mathematics to school children, and ten years of blasting Satan on the Sabbath into a microphone. He had written a ten-cent pamphlet on Social Credit, setting forth his promise to begin paying $25 a month to all within eighteen months of taking office. This handbook became a best seller in Alberta a few months before the voters were called to their quinquennial duty of electing a government. It contained his claim that an end of depression could be had by the "wondrously simple" plan of free dividends, which he would engage experts to install.

The pamphlet is two years old now, its promises thoroughly discredited in the eyes of many electors who voted for Aberhart. Active and disillusioned, his followers are turning away from his economic hocus-pocus. An inglorious demise is being prepared for the witch doctor of Alberta. In the words of a Social Credit cabinet minister, "the jig is up." The end is written in no dividends, no Social Credit, no experts, and now no longer any faith in the pious pledges of the prairie prophet. As for Mr. Aberhart, while his political house of cards has tumbled about his ears, he has returned to his heart's first allegiance, the Scriptures. "I am satisfied," he told his congregation on a recent Sunday, "that without God there is no hope of deliverance." This announcement left Social Credit in Alberta just about where the Premier found it.

In a characteristic diagnosis of the world's ills, Premier Aberhart once said the trouble was "a religious-economic blight". For two years his religion, an extreme fundamentalist variety, has been the hand-

maiden of his government. Bible-bigot and pulpit-pounder, Aberhart believes in the Second Coming of Christ. The leisure of his life has gone into exhorting the people to seek the safe hill-top of salvation against the flooding wrath of God. He hotly denied, after becoming Premier, that he was a religious fanatic. When one interviewer went away and wrote that he was, Mr. Aberhart explained: "You and I don't know when Christ is coming. Now listen carefully. Seven years before the coming of Christ, the Rapture shall take place. This will be when the Lord appears in the clouds. The Rapture has not taken place yet." Mr. Aberhart frequently expressed the conviction that he would be taken from his post of duty at the Rapture, but the accumulated grievances of his followers seem certain to anticipate the working of this prophetic miracle.

In palmier days before depression, Mr. Aberhart developed hot-gospelling into a profitable business. It paid him dividends in the shape of a $65,000 Bible Institute as a forum for prophetic revelations and a multitudinous following in Alberta that elected him to an $8,960 a year job. Hard times in the early 1930's cut down the flow of funds and the Aberhart salvation crusade turned to the bright promises of pseudo-economics. It emerged in the depth of Alberta's depression as a powerful political party. It wrecked the 14-year rule of the United Farmers' Party and swept a Social Credit administration into office with one of the biggest majorities in the history of any of Canada's provinces.

That election day launched Alberta into the biggest political gamble of its young life, and in its 30 years, the province has speculated extensively in political fads and social frills. But conditions were bad, and any chance seemed worth taking. The price of wheat, which measures purchasing power, was low. Rural debts were correspondingly high. Drought had cut deeply into farm income. Creditors were slow to realize the desperation that gripped the debtors. So in a mood of economic bewilderment and reckless speculation, Alberta called in the theocrat of Calgary and hoped he could make good with his promise to pay dividends.

Politics and Salvation

The record of the Aberhart régime in Alberta is the story of an administration operated on the principle that the end of the world is just around the corner, and that salvation is a case of now or never. The result offers proof that a mixture of salvation and politics is no solution for economic problems. The voters placed their trust in Aberhart, in part at least, because of his reputation for saintly endeavor. It was a common saying in the first few months of his régime that Alberta would be sure of capable government even if Social Credit turned out badly. The verdict of two years is that Alberta got neither.

Aberhart did not lead the people of Alberta across the Jordan to Social Credit's Promised Land. A majority opinion says he led in the wrong direction. But he has made Alberta a different place to live in by pursuing policies never mentioned in the glad days of the election campaign. Then the simple mechanism with which to usher in the New Era was $25 a month for adults and pro rata handouts for children. The remedy was to be nothing more than giving the people an income in credit, and all other trouble would be ended. Since Social Credit came to power, the front pages of Alberta have recorded his onslaughts on the present system of finance, his enforced reductions of public and private debts, his defiant and arbitrary attitude towards the Federal Treasury (whence provincial aid flows in time of stress), his bungling experimentation with scrip money, his efforts to impose thorough-going control on business, his threats to curb the freedom of the press, the growing scandal of inept and inefficient administration, and lately, the growth of conflict within his party over what to do next. But the story for which everyone waited—the payment of dividends—remained unwritten.

Alberta under Aberhart has laid aside some of the raiment of the present system,

Times Wide World

ALBERTA'S ABERHART: As a pulpit-thumping lay preacher, for twenty years, he interpreted the apocalyptic passages of the Bible as a direct warning that the last days were at hand. Then he discovered Social Credit.

as if in readiness for a newer economic dispensation. "You can never borrow your way to prosperity," said Premier Aberhart, as if expressing a self-evident truth. The province is no longer borrowing because it has no credit left. Simple repudiation through refusal to pay more than half the interest due on bonds turned out to be one Aberhart remedy. The bonds dropped 40 per cent in market value.

By another law, creditors were stripped of the right to collect in court the full amount of old debts. "It is absolutely necessary," said Premier Aberhart, "for the people to be freed from economic bondage." But the multitude of honest debtors who would avoid the courts are still waiting for deliverance. The debt-reducing law was declared invalid in court. The Social Credit government cried out at the "blocking tactics of the opposition," and declared a general moratorium. In effect, the prophet of Social Credit has brought Alberta to a state of financial nudity by nullifying the ordinary processes of public and private contracts and credits, without providing the substitute system of social credits.

Gesell's Theory

The story of scrip, an engaging monetary interlude in the life of Alberta, represented a deviation from the pursuit of Social Credit. "The people will never be free," Mr. Aberhart pontificated from his pulpit, "until they learn to circulate their own credit." For the purpose of testing what he described as "the circulation of our credit," he turned to the theory of Silvio Gesell, an advocate of demurrage money. There is an extensive literature on Gesell's proposals, which may be placed with those of Douglas, though unrelated thereto, among the contributions of self-made economists to the monetary problems of the age. To the extent that a full-blown theory of money may be reduced to a sentence or two, Gesell's proposal was to ap-

ply a rate of depreciation to currency in order to adjust it to the perishable quality of the goods which it distributed. This, he argued, would iron out the ups and downs of business depression, frustrate the money-lender and remove the evil of fixed charges in a system of fluctuating factors.

Neither the fine points of Gesell's argument nor the implications of it figured in Mr. Aberhart's experiment with demurrage money in Alberta. What he was after, the Social Credit premier said, was to train the people to use their own money, so they would be ready to use their own credit later on. "We must cease using the monopolist money-changers' tools," he said. He issued stamp scrip, calling it "Prosperity Certificates." Nearly 325,000 certificates of $1 face value were put into circulation. The holder of each was required to affix a one-cent stamp every Wednesday, so that in two years each certificate would return to the treasury $1.04 through stamp sales. The scrip went out as road relief wages in August, 1936, and later small amounts were sold to civil servants. The scheme failed almost from the start, and to maintain the scrip at par, the government opened the treasury to redeem it once a month. Gradually almost the whole amount was redeemed, and against the cost of $300,000 redemptions, the treasury took in $20,000 in stamp sales. "The Bible," said Mr. Aberhart to a rural audience, "says that money is the root of all evil. You don't believe it, as you love it too much." In any case, hard cash remains the people's choice in Alberta.

Overnight Economist

Economics, as a modern maxim goes, is easy for anyone who has not made a life's study of it. William Aberhart became an economist overnight. He read a book on the theory of Major C. H. Douglas, Scottish author of Social Credit and, adapting it to his own convictions, substituted the Satan of his religious beliefs for the villain of the theory, which is the money power. Supported by the special emphasis which supplants logic in the Aberhart pulpit, the mixture passed around Alberta as revealed truth. In part, its success was due to Douglas, who provided a dialectic that lends itself to the facile interchange of the Money Power and the Prince of Darkness. Mr. Aberhart discovered this by accident. He conferred an aura of sin upon the bankers (of which they are suspect, in any case, in western farm regions during hard times), and erected a political movement upon his discovery. "Social Credit," he said, "is an economic movement from God Himself."

The relation of Major Douglas to Alberta is one of the disputed chapters of the Aberhart story. When campaigning for office Aberhart promised to summon Douglas to install Social Credit. "All I would do," he said, "is . . . sit by his side, listen to him and get all the information I could." He became Premier and inherited from the previous government a contract binding Douglas to act as reconstruction adviser to Alberta. But when Aberhart came in, Douglas made excuses and would not act. The ingenuity of his excuses lend interest to a barren and lengthy Aberhart-Douglas correspondence. For Aberhart's part, he was committed to inviting Douglas, but was glad at first to tackle the new social order alone. Douglas confined his efforts to giving advice from long range, and writing privately to friends in Alberta. From his home in London, he ridiculed Aberhart's proposals to balance the budget, to impose new taxes, and to reduce expenses. The theorist across the Atlantic insisted that Aberhart was on the wrong road. After several months, the Social Credit premier stood it no longer, and accused Douglas of "dog-in-the-manger tactics."

Excluding the experiment with Prosperity Scrip, Premier Aberhart can claim three attempts to call a Social Credit system into being. He wrote three Social Credit acts into the laws of Alberta. This was the nearest the theory came to being tried out, as none became operative.

In the first session of his legislature, in April 1936, the Social Credit Measures Act provided for a commission of inquiry into "proposals having for their object the in-

crease of the purchasing power of the consumer by means of social dividends." Any feasible proposal could be put into operation by order-in-council. There was no limit to the power vested in the government by this statute, but other than a preliminary, voluntary registration of citizens desiring dividends, the power was not used.

At no stage did Mr. Aberhart reveal an inkling of the nature of credit. When his party was running for office, he wrote: "We do claim that we can allow credit out of thin air. Credit can be made out of thin air, just by a stroke of the fountain pen." His second attempt to legislate Social Credit into being came on September 1, 1936, with a statute based on the "thin air" theory. The Alberta Credit House Act of that date provided that book entries of credit be opened for registered citizens, who would have the privilege of drawing upon their accounts by voucher, or check, when they wished to pay grocery or other bills. No accounts were actually opened, and no one had the opportunity of testing the grocer's willingness to accept such a check. "Alberta Credit," as projected in this statute, was credit without benefit of monetary claim either on the taxpayer or any other productive source. The scheme was inoperative, but Mr. Aberhart's education was proceeding slowly. After six weeks he said: "If the people do not cooperate maybe I will have to throw up my hands and say I can do nothing for you."

The third and last legislative endeavor came in April, 1937, when the Aberhart government gathered up all its former legislation, added several clauses inspired by the Social Credit model bill which Representative T. Alan Goldsborough of Maryland has twice introduced in Congress, and put in a few new paragraphs of its own. The resulting omnibus statute was the Alberta Social Credit Act of 1937. The preamble of this Act affirmed that Alberta was "inhabited by a virile, intelligent, and industrious people," for whom existing means of distributing wealth were inadequate. The statute's intentions and possible operations were confused in a mass of detail, and it was stillborn like its predecessors. The "thin air" theory of credit was abandoned, for the most part, and backing for Alberta Credit provided in tax money. The treasury was to be the ultimate source from which dividends were drawn. The Aberhart government, with party troubles on its hands, has avoided seeing how far it could go with the scheme. Administration of the act was vested in a commission of three to five members, which in turn was to be appointed by a board of five private members of the legislature. The board decided to stake everything on a last attempt to entice Major Douglas to Alberta. Douglas has remained in England.

A Rising Storm

The decline of Aberhart began to outrun his efforts to establish a new social order before he got his last Social Credit bill through the legislature. In 1935 he promised to produce results in 18 months. In January last as the time limit drew near, his party began to rebel. The Premier attempted to calm the rising storm. "We have at last," he said, "come to the place where we propose to take our first definite step."

Nothing happened, and in six weeks the deadline arrived. Mr. Aberhart mounted his pulpit and made a confession. "As you know," he said, "in spite of all our efforts, we have been unable to introduce Social Credit." He could, he thought, if given time, install a new order by gradual stages. "But, if our supporters desire another leader, I should like to know." He asked for directions within three months or so, and meanwhile he would stay on the job.

His followers began to voice their views more quickly than he anticipated. Within a week a group of rebellious members organized a campaign of opposition to government policies, directing fire on Aberhart and his tax-increasing budget. Party bickering grew like a family quarrel. The premier heard himself accused repeatedly of double-crossing his followers. One of them said he played Dr. Jekyll on Sundays and Mr. Hyde during the week. In consternation Mr. Aberhart exhorted: "Don't let

there be mutiny among the crew!" As a deadlock continued, Premier Aberhart abruptly adjourned the legislature in order to refer the issue to the rank and file of his party. This was the final blunder of his career, for the breach that began in the legislature spread rapidly through the party, and the Social Credit movement fell into bitter and hopeless dissension, the cause into disrepute.

The marks of Aberhart's fruitless quest for Utopia will remain upon Alberta's political life for a long time. A party adhering to the once-proud banner of Social Credit lingers in the field, its future dim. An intensity of past conviction supports the feeling that a grain of truth may yet be found in prophetic economics. The defunct prophet provides an easy scapegoat for failure, and the belief that Aberhart betrayed the cause prevails among his former supporters. Argument is still largely futile against Alberta's vision of the New Age. So the crusade that Aberhart evoked will remain a factor in provincial politics. Alberta has a reputation for marching out of step with the rest of Canada. Still the white robes of yesteryear are tattered and soiled. The Social Credit mandate has expired.

"If the people have not suffered enough," said Mr. Aberhart when he was still a respected schoolmaster, "it is their God-given right to suffer some more." This remains the benediction from the prophet of Social Credit as Alberta recovers from its bizarre flirtation with government by revelation.

Canada's Santa Claus: F. D. R.

By J. H. GRAY

AS FAR as that particular bill was concerned, there was probably no country farther from President Roosevelt's mind than Canada. Yet his signing of the gold revaluation law April, 1933, had a more profoundly beneficial and abiding effect on the whole Canadian economy than all the other administration bills since Lincoln. By a single stroke of the pen, he moved Canada's financial capital five degrees to the left—from Montreal to Toronto, precipitated the greatest mining stock boom the country has ever seen and, through the impetus his law gave mining development, did more to hasten Canadian recovery than the combined efforts of all the Canadian statesmen.

One of the most conspicuous features of the Canadian scene, when Mr. Roosevelt was elected, was the veritable rash of vacant brokerage offices that pock-marked the country from stem to stern. The collapse of base metal prices following the Wall Street crash knocked the Canadian mining market on the head and drove broker after broker into bankruptcy and some to jail for bucketing their clients' orders during the boom. The customers who had managed to save anything from the industrial crash were cleaned out by the bankruptcies.

The revulsion of feeling toward all mining stock for the next two years went so deep that an attempt to float a new issue, even with hundred-dollar bills attached to the certificates, would not have paid postage stamps. The leading stocks among the base metals had declined to truly incredible depths. Sudbury Basin skidded from $13.75 to .16, Ventures from $14.85 to .16, Hudson's Bay from $23 to .93, Coast Copper from $66 to .50, Sherritt-Gordon from $9.90 to .18, Pend Oreille from $16.95 to .45, International Nickel from $73 to $4.15, and Noranda from $70 to $11.75.

These were the blue chips of the mining market and were in everybody's portfolio along with the odd gold stock. Obviously, such calamitous declines as these were bound to affect the prices of the gold issues, but at the darkest hour of the depression the latter were not down more than 50 per cent from their peaks. Their earning power was

unimpaired and, on the basis of 1932 lows, they were earning and paying about 16 per cent dividends.

Gold stocks were thus in a position to react to any favorable development. Indeed, it was the sharpening of the economic crisis that led to a revival of market interest. The necessity of making large payments in New York sent the price of American funds to a premium of from 10 to 20 per cent over the Canadian dollar. The gold mines, instead of shipping their output of gold direct to New York to realize the higher price, sold it to the Canadian Government at current New York prices. This had the effect of swelling the producers' profits, and in the case of marginal producers with low-grade ore bodies or unusually high costs of production, the difference in price transformed loss into profit.

Constant reiteration of news of the increased earnings and dividends of the gold mines, the only bright spot on an otherwise black horizon, caused some increase in the brokerage business, but there was a more important effect elsewhere. Instead of buying listed stocks on the exchange, many speculators put their money into syndicates which grubstaked prospectors to go into the north to look for new gold deposits. As a result, hundreds of men beat their way into the bush in northern Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Most of them came out empty-handed, but some rich strikes were made—just as President Roosevelt stepped into the picture to revalue gold.

As he gently raised the price from $20 to $35 an ounce, the stock market in the major gold mines leaped to life, and such proven producers at Lake Shore, McIntyre, Dome, Teck-Hughes, Wright-Hargraves, and Hollinger doubled, trebled, and quadrupled their stock market values. From a low of $9 in 1932 Dome spurted to $40 in 1933, and the others all skyrocketed through their 1929 highs. These stocks, however, were altogether too expensive for most of the speculators who were attracted to the market. They turned their attention to the "dogs and cats" of the exchange lists—to the penny stocks that had been kicking around for years. Others, scores of them, were in various stages of arrested development. Quotations on these issues ranged from minute fractions of a cent to 30 or so cents a share.

Mines which had been closed reopened, and scores of others that had long since lost hope of ever paying a dividend found themselves with fat balances in the bank. It was in these stocks that the boom really started. Twenty dollars would buy 100, 500, or 1,000 shares, and thousands of Canadians brought in their cheques for $25, $50, and $100 and took up certificates in the penny issues. The market responded nobly as the country was bitten by the gold bug, and some fantastic profits were made in the "cats and dogs." With the profits they acquired, more stock was purchased not only on the exchange but in the hundreds of new properties that were being opened up. Some idea of the nature of the profits made may be gained from the following table, which shows the height of the rise of some of the most popular issues.

	Low	*High*
Bagamac	.01	.60
Central Patricia	.02	5.00
God's Lake	.25	4.30
Kirkland Hudson	.20	2.50
Lamaque	.25	9.00
Little Long Lac	.50	8.00
Macassa	.40	7.80
McLeod Cockshutt	.04	5.05
McMillan	.02½	.75
O'Brien	.30	14.00
Pickle Crow	.70	9.00
Preston	.20	2.25
Read Authier	.27	5.70
San Antonio	.30	6.10
Thompson Cadillac	.05	1.60

These are but 15 of the outstanding examples, and the list could be expanded almost indefinitely. From a low of 76,000,000 shares in 1932, the share turnover on the Toronto mining exchange reached a peak of 450,000,000 shares in 1936, or 120,000,000 above the 1928 level. At the end of 1936 the total value of the mining stock listed on this exchange, which now far outranks the Montreal market in importance, reached $2.5 billion.

Triangle

F. D. R.'s GIFT: This British Columbia miner probably owes his job to the Gold Bill.

Protecting the Chumps

With the public aroused from its lethargy and the boom well under way, the stage was set for the unscrupulous promoters and high-pressure gentry, and they invaded Toronto by the bargeful early in 1934. Fortunately, just as the process of divorcing the chumps from their life savings was getting under way, Ontario had an election. One of the first steps taken by the new Liberal Government after it took office was to fire the securities commissioner and appoint John M. Godfrey, K.C., to the office.

Save for the election of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932, Godfrey's appointment was the greatest break ever given either the chumps or the mining industry. Absolutely independent and impeccably honest, he could neither be bought nor intimidated. He proceeded first to hire a crew of young zealots and then went after the Wallingfords. Within a year he had smoked most of them out and driven them from business. He instituted rigid licensing of brokers together with periodic auditing of their books, forced all security issuers to get his permission before they could offer any share or security to the public, banned the use of telephone solicitation, and undertook to see that the money subscribed by the public actually went into the development of the mines and not into the pockets of the promoters. Cracking down unmercifully on the high-pressure gang, he saved the mining industry from ruin and is, more than any one else, responsible for the generally orderly, honest, and efficient manner in which the mining development has taken place.

But to say this is not to say that there has been no seamy side to the boom. There have been a few downright swindles, and numerous properties with high surface values have been proven barren at depth. Gold may still be where you find it, as the old-time prospectors used to say, but gold mines are no longer found—they are made. They are made, in northern Canada, by boring shafts down through hundreds of feet of solid rock and then tunneling through the bowels of the earth to intersect the veins that showed on the surface. The very nature of the deposits foredoom four out of five prospects to failure. When they have failed, the stock has collapsed in price. But the significant feature of the present boom is that the crashes have never been sufficiently numerous and drastic to shake the confidence in the market or seriously retard the flow of money for development.

Since President Roosevelt's momentous pen-scratching, several hundred million dollars have been made by speculators in mining stock. And while the mining market enjoys its greatest boom in history, it is in itself but the surface flowering of roots his brainwave spread throughout the whole Canadian economy.

Canada, with its less than 11,000,000 population, has been developed mainly by outside capital. It has been variously estimated that between $2.5 billion and $4 bil-

lion has been invested here by United States investors. Prior to the depression, repayment of interest and principal on these investments was possible through the export of goods and services, but when the economic crisis stopped world trade, and the United States practically ceased to import Canadian goods, repayment was possible only in gold. In the years following the crash it became increasingly difficult for Canada to meet its bond interest due in New York. One of the main factors in saving it from default was the increased supply of newly mined gold. In 1931 the country produced 2,700,000 ounces of gold valued at $62,000,000. In 1935 production reached 3,300,000 ounces valued at $115,000,000, and last year it touched an all time peak of 3,700,000 ounces with a value of $130,000,000.

New Mines and New Business

It is these figures, far more than all the stock-market data producible, which tell the story of the effect of revaluation on Canada. Since the bill was signed, hundreds of new mines have been opened up from one end of the country to the other. In 1931 there were only 30 producing gold mines in Canada. Today there are 130, and by the end of 1937 it is expected that the number will have passed 150. Some of these new producers are old mines which had shut down because they could not operate at a profit at the old price of gold. Others, perhaps the majority, are new mills, many of them in districts unknown before 1932. East of the wheat belt, most of the gold production in 1931 came from within a radius of 75 miles of Kirkland Lake, Ontario; the producing area has now expanded far eastward into northwest Quebec and a thousand miles north and west into northern Manitoba. Several thousand claims have even been staked in the Northwest Territories, and British Columbia has 35 producing mines and twice as many prospective producers. In far northern Manitoba, from Flin Flon to the eastern boundary, more than a dozen properties are being developed in what was virgin bush in 1931. Similarly, in northern Ontario there are now five new mining districts between Lake Nipigon and the western boundary.

At the present time there are probably 500 properties in various stages of development. It has been the development of these raw prospects into producing mines that is responsible for much of the economic recovery that has been made in this country.

When all other forms of construction were at a standstill, it was the huge orders for mining equipment that kept the heavy industries going. Transporting it to the mines meant millions of dollars of revenue for the railways and thousands of jobs in the bush. With the young mines located anywhere from five to 100 miles from the nearest railhead, roads had to be cut through the bush and barges built to carry the machinery to the property. In the winter the hauling is done by powerful Diesel-engined tractor trains and, where possible, in the summer by water routes. After the machinery is in, the roads must be kept open for supplies. Accommodation must be made for anywhere from 100 to 500 men, and the houses must be of substantial construction to withstand the long winter.

Just how many men have obtained employment in Canada through gold revaluation is difficult to estimate, and the figure has been placed at between 40,000 and 75,000 in the mines alone. This does not begin to cover it, for there is undoubtedly at least as large a number again indirectly affected in the foundries, lumber camps and saw mills, machine shops and explosive plants, etc. As new town sites spring up, there are probably as many people getting livelihoods from the mines and miners as there are actually working in the mines. And these new towns are spreading like mushrooms throughout the north country.

Thanks to our Washington Santa Claus, the whole Canadian northwoods is now a hive of industry, and the million dollars a day it is pumping into circulation has had its effect in the remotest corners of the Canadian economy.

But alas, just as everybody had become

accustomed to the new prosperity, somebody discovered a gaping hole in the bottom of Santa Claus' bag. In raising the gold price to $35 an ounce he set economic forces in motion which may eventually force him to cut the price. Thirty-five dollars an ounce is an uneconomic price, the experts avow, and as a result the United States Treasury is being flooded with gold for which it has no use. The rumor that a cut in price was contemplated in Washington started the rush to get out of the gold stocks early in April, and as this is being written the rush is still on. The stock market index dropped to 50 per cent of its early 1937 high.

Not even the gloomiest prophets have predicted, however, that the price of gold will ever go back to $20.67 an ounce. The worst they can see at present is a reduction to around $30 an ounce. But even if the price did drop to the old figure, the black disaster the happy optimists of yesterday would see would be illusory. The stock market might go to pieces momentarily but when the dust was all cleared away there would still be 50,000 men working in the northern woods who were not there five years ago. That is President Roosevelt's contribution to the Canadian economy. It alone will assure him of a place in Canadian history when everything else he did, tried to do, and failed to do is long forgotten.

The C.I.O. Comes to Canada

By GRAHAM SPRY

CANADIAN relations with the United States are marked by a curious periodic cycle. About once every twenty years a fever rises in the Canadian blood, we discover that our national existence is menaced by some sinister threat from south of the border, and in the midst of tremendous popular excitement we gird up our loins and save ourselves once more from the United States. In the late 1880's a movement for Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States was only finally beaten by Sir John Macdonald's famous campaign of 1891 in which he proclaimed the immortal sentence: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." Twenty years later, in 1911, in a still more exciting Reciprocity campaign, we repudiated Laurier's deal with President Taft and resolved to have "no truck or trade with the Yankees." During the 1930's another anti-American outbreak has been obviously overdue. The two Reciprocity campaigns arose out of the unpatriotic desire of Canadian farmers to solve their economic difficulties by finding markets in the United States. Today in 1937 it is Canadian labor which is being swept by a wave of unpatriotic unionization activity under the leadership chiefly of the C.I.O., and once again our patriots have been girding up their loins.

In spite of countless pages about the Coronation, the news which Canadian newspaper-readers have been following with greatest interest this Spring has had to do with events in the labor field, chiefly in Ontario and Quebec. April 1937 saw more labor disturbances and more man-hours lost through strikes and lockouts than any month since the period of the great Winnipeg strike at the end of the War.

The most exciting of these events so far has been the strike in the General Motors plant at Oshawa, Ontario, a strike which was eventually won by the workers with the practical recognition of their union, Local 222 of the United Automobile Workers of America. General Motors of Canada is a company which is completely owned by General Motors Corporation of the United States. The parent concern does not even publish a separate financial statement of its Canadian operations, and its senior execu-

tives at Oshawa are mostly men who have been sent there by the American management. Canadian industrial centres are full of American branch plants of all kinds. Yet the organization of the employees at Oshawa under the guidance of U.A.W.A. organizers, only one of whom came from Detroit, was greeted by most of the press in Toronto and Montreal with cries of "foreign agitators," and ever since the strike broke out these journals have been trying to work up an anti-American hysteria. The Prime Minister of the province, the Hon. Mitchell Hepburn, intervened personally in the efforts of his labor conciliation officer to settle the strike and held up settlement for some time by his dramatic refusal to deal with the chief C.I.O. representative, Hugh Thompson. Both Prime Minister and the papers who supported him denounced the C.I.O. movement as being lawless and violent in its American home, as aiming at dictatorship, and as being dominated by communists. The *Toronto Daily Star* formed a conspicuous exception to this general press campaign, defending the right of the workers to organize under whatever leaders they might choose and pointing out that international A. F. of L. unions and union organizers have been a familiar feature of the Canadian labor world for years. It may be added that the Oshawa strike itself was completely free from disorder.

The chief difference between the present anti-American campaign and the last one of 1911 has been the refusal of the public to become very excited about it, although there is plenty of controversy about the issue of unionization.

In its main features, with certain significant differences in the French province of Quebec, Canadian labor history has followed the developments of the United States. In early days some of the first Canadian labor unions were affiliated with British trade unions; but this tie has long been broken, and since the end of the 1880's the A. F. of L. has dominated organized labor in Canada as in the United States. Canadian labor has also followed the Gompers tradition in its general refusal to go into politics. There have been occasional labor members in some provincial legislatures, and since the Winnipeg strike there has been a contingent of two or three in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. The socialist third party in Dominion politics, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, is a federation of farmer and labor parties which originated in Western Canada in 1932 but which has not so far won the official support of the trade union movement in Ontario or in Quebec.

According to figures issued by the Dominion Department of Labor. there were in 1935, the latest year for which official statistics are as yet available, 280.704 trade unionists in Canada. The peak year in trade-union history was 1919, when membership was 378,047. In 1929. just before the depression, it was 319,476. In 1935 trade unionists represented about 2.6 per cent of the population. Railroad employees made up about one quarter of the total union membership, and formed by far the largest single group. Most of the unions were craft unions. and the so-called mass-production industries were largely unorganized.

Of the 280,784 trade unionists. the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (A. F. of L.) represented 125,779. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour had 51.025 members. National Catholic unions accounted for 38.000. International unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. (mostly the railroad brotherhoods) had 28.776. The rest were in scattered units. Altogether there were 143.570 unionists in international unions and 137.134 in purely Canadian organizations.

Canadian Unions

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada dates its origin from 1873. It includes all the A. F. of L. unions who have branches in Canada. and it unconditionally accepts the prerogative of the A. F. of L. in adjudicating upon trade-union and jurisdictional disputes. Because it represents much the largest single body of unionists

accustomed to the new prosperity, somebody discovered a gaping hole in the bottom of Santa Claus' bag. In raising the gold price to $35 an ounce he set economic forces in motion which may eventually force him to cut the price. Thirty-five dollars an ounce is an uneconomic price, the experts avow, and as a result the United States Treasury is being flooded with gold for which it has no use. The rumor that a cut in price was contemplated in Washington started the rush to get out of the gold stocks early in April, and as this is being written the rush is still on. The stock market index dropped to 50 per cent of its early 1937 high.

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tives at Oshawa are mostly men who have been sent there by the American management. Canadian industrial centres are full of American branch plants of all kinds. Yet the organization of the employees at Oshawa under the guidance of U.A.W.A. organizers, only one of whom came from Detroit, was greeted by most of the press in Toronto and Montreal with cries of "foreign agitators," and ever since the strike broke out these journals have been trying to work up an anti-American hysteria. The Prime Minister of the province, the Hon. Mitchell Hepburn, intervened personally in the efforts of his labor conciliation officer to settle the strike and held up settlement for some time by his dramatic refusal to deal with the chief C.I.O. representative, Hugh Thompson. Both Prime Minister and the papers who supported him denounced the C.I.O. movement as being lawless and violent in its American home, as aiming at dictatorship, and as being dominated by communists. The *Toronto Daily Star* formed a conspicuous exception to this general press campaign, defending the right of the workers to organize under whatever leaders they might choose and pointing out that international A. F. of L. unions and union organizers have been a familiar feature of the Canadian labor world for years. It may be added that the Oshawa strike itself was completely free from disorder.

The chief difference between the present anti-American campaign and the last one of 1911 has been the refusal of the public to become very excited about it, although there is plenty of controversy about the issue of unionization.

In its main features, with certain significant differences in the French province of Quebec, Canadian labor history has followed the developments of the United States. In early days some of the first Canadian labor unions were affiliated with British trade unions; but this tie has long been broken, and since the end of the 1880's the A. F. of L. has dominated organized labor in Canada as in the United States. Canadian labor has also followed the Gompers tradition in its general refusal to go into politics. There have been occasional labor members in some provincial legislatures, and since the Winnipeg strike there has been a contingent of two or three in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. The socialist third party in Dominion politics, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, is a federation of farmer and labor parties which originated in Western Canada in 1932 but which has not so far won the official support of the trade union movement in Ontario or in Quebec.

According to figures issued by the Dominion Department of Labor, there were in 1935, the latest year for which official statistics are as yet available, 280,704 trade unionists in Canada. The peak year in trade-union history was 1919, when membership was 378,047. In 1929, just before the depression, it was 319,476. In 1935 trade unionists represented about 2.6 per cent of the population. Railroad employees made up about one quarter of the total union membership, and formed by far the largest single group. Most of the unions were craft unions, and the so-called mass-production industries were largely unorganized.

Of the 280,784 trade unionists, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (A. F. of L.) represented 125,779. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour had 54,025 members. National Catholic unions accounted for 38,000. International unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. (mostly the railroad brotherhoods) had 28.776. The rest were in scattered units. Altogether there were 143,570 unionists in international unions and 137.134 in purely Canadian organizations.

Canadian Unions

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada dates its origin from 1873. It includes all the A. F. of L. unions who have branches in Canada, and it unconditionally accepts the prerogative of the A. F. of L. in adjudicating upon trade-union and jurisdictional disputes. Because it represents much the largest single body of unionists

in Canada, it is usually chosen by the Government to supply the labor delegates to the I.L.O. at Geneva. It has had to fight in the past against efforts both by employers and by the Canadian Senate to prevent its organizers from passing freely across the international boundary. But its international affiliations have long been accepted without question. And no doubt the cynics are right when they say that the real objection to the newly-arrived C.I.O. is not its American origin but its effectiveness in organizing industries into which the A. F. of L. unions have never been able to penetrate.

In 1902 there was a split in the Trades and Labour Congress, when Knights of Labor Assemblies and all local Canadian unions whose sphere of operation overlapped with that of established A. F. of L. unions were expelled. The result was the formation of an independent national Canadian Federation of Labor. This body has gone through various vicissitudes. Since 1927 it has been known as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. Its main appeal is national, and it contends that the American connection interferes with effective work in the Canadian field and drains off Canadian workers' fees into American treasuries. There have been occasions in Toronto when the A. F. of L. unions have accused the A.C.C.L. unions of what practically amounts to strike-breaking. The bad relations between the two groups certainly cause a serious weakening of the labor movement in English-speaking Canada. Since the C.I.O. unions invaded the Canadian field this year the national unions have been giving support to the employers in waving the anti-American flag. During the past year there has been a split in the A.C.C.L. itself, due apparently to internal rivalries, and the national union movement is now divided into two factions.

The I.W.W. once played a big part in Western Canada, and it still reports a membership of slightly over 4,000. In addition there is the O.B.U. (One Big Union), formed in 1918 in the West and getting a great boost from its connection with the Winnipeg strike. In 1935 it reported 24,055 members.

The unique feature of Canadian trade unionism is the existence of the Catholic unions in Quebec. They date from 1901, in which year, following the adjustment of a labor dispute in Quebec city by the Archbishop, there was formed a local Catholic union of shoe workers. Each Catholic union has a priest as chaplain and accepts the guidance of the Church. There is now a Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada claiming 38,000 members. The movement represents a determined effort by the French Catholic Church to keep a control over its parishioners which shall be as effective in the new industrial areas as it has always been among the habitants in the rural villages. The Catholic unions repudiate "the false principle of the conflict of classes" and are very reluctant to indulge in strikes. Naturally they are more acceptable to the employers than international unions, and with the favor of both employers and the Church they form a barrier to the growth of international unions in French Canada.

Governments and Labor

To understand the present labor situation in Canada some account of the relation of Federal and provincial governments to labor questions is also necessary. A Federal Department of Labor was first established in 1900 and was administered by the Postmaster-General till 1909, when it became a separate Department, with a Minister of Labor in the Cabinet. Its organization in these early years was under the direction of a young economist with a graduate degree from Harvard, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who is now the Liberal Prime Minister of Canada. Mr. King, while still the senior permanent official in the Department, was instrumental in putting through the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907. Under this legislation the Government was given power to intervene at the invitation of either party in labor disputes in mines and public utilities. A board of conciliation and investigation

was to be set up, and no strike or lockout could take place until the board had made its report. This Act attracted world-wide attention, and it has proved to be a very successful bit of labor legislation in spite of legal difficulties in the courts as to the jurisdiction of the Federal authority in labor matters. During the 28 years down to the end of March 1935 the Government had set up 538 boards to deal with various disputes, and in all but 38 cases strikes or lockouts had been averted.

Mr. King has always been very proud of his Industrial Disputes Investigation Act and of the work of the Department of Labor generally. He himself, when he was Deputy Minister in the Department and then when he became the political head of the Department under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had direct personal experience in labor conciliation work. During the War years, when he was out of office in Canada, he served as Director of Industrial Research for the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States. As a result of his experience he published at the end of the War a book entitled *Industry and Humanity*. One could guess with some confidence that this book has never been read by Mr. Hepburn, the Liberal Prime Minister of Ontario, who is a wealthy farmer, nor by his chief advisers. It states very emphatically that industry must become a partnership between capital, management, labor, and the community, and that autocratic government in industry must be superseded by a system in which all the parties to industry are represented. Mr. King is especially severe upon employers who talk and act as if an industry was their own exclusive property. But when he returned to office again in 1921 he did little to implement the fine sentiments of *Industry and Humanity*. His Government has steadily avoided responsibility on the plea that labor questions fall within the jurisdiction of the provinces.

Mr. King's predecessor as Prime Minister of the Dominion was the Conservative Mr. R. B. Bennett, who began to toy with New Deal ideas during the last year of his term and passed a series of laws by which provision was made for unemployment insurance and for the regulation of hours and conditions in industry. Mr. King's Government referred these Acts to the Courts, and they have been declared *ultra vires*. Since no province by itself will impose conditions on industry which may drive employers into neighboring provinces, and since the Dominion cannot now impose national standards, this means that in these matters there will be no regulation of industry at all. Mr. King's Government shows no sign of any determination to get over this stalemate, which is eminently satisfactory to the employing class, by new legislation or by constitutional amendment. He cannot "pack" the Court, for it is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council located in London, and over its composition the Canadian Government and people have no control whatsoever.

The Federal Government has one other important point of contact with labor. It controls the militia forces of the country. It has also a special Federal police force, well known to all devotees of Hollywood, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The splendid fellows of this force, however, have other duties besides those of galloping over the prairies and falling in love with beautiful Hollywood heroines. Included in these duties are those of labor spying and maintaining order during industrial troubles. Their activities in these fields have made them justifiably well hated by the whole of Canadian labor.

The provinces of Quebec and Ontario have also their own provincial police forces. During the Oshawa strike the federal government, on the request of the Ontario government, sent a detachment of the Mounties to Toronto to be ready in case of trouble. But the two governments disagreed as to the use of these men and they were withdrawn by Ottawa. Premier Hepburn then proceeded to recruit and train a new special force (in addition to the regular provincial police) for the protection of Ontario against the alleged lawlessness of the C.I.O. These have not yet been used. In Oshawa itself there was not the slightest

hint of disorder, nor has there been any sign of disorder elsewhere in the province. The Prime Minister's activity led to the resignation from the provincial Government of his Minister of Labor and his Attorney General, two Ministers whose sympathies with labor were well known. Further division in the Liberal Party is also reflected in Premier Hepburn's public disavowal on June 3 of loyalty to and association with the Federal Liberal organization of Mr. Mackenzie King.

Ontario and Quebec have each passed New Deal legislation providing for the establishment of standard wages and hours of labor through agreements between employers and employees in individual industries. Such an agreement made by any group in any given industry may, if approved by the Minister of Labor, be extended by him to the industry as a whole. This legislation was not welcomed by the employers, since its tendency is to encourage collective bargaining, but it is being applied by administrative action in ever-widening circles in both provinces. Nova Scotia has recently passed the most advanced of all labor laws in Canada. It makes collective bargaining compulsory, outlaws yellow-dog contracts, and provides for the check-off of union dues.

Fascism in Quebec?

Since the Oshawa strike the most significant developments on the labor front have been in Quebec. The French province is meeting new conditions in a way of its own. For some time the combined efforts of the French Catholic hierarchy, big business (including the big newspapers) and the provincial Government have been devoted to the building up of a clerical fascism which is without parallel elsewhere in North America. Active elements in the Church have been preaching the ideals of corporatism as an alternative to capitalist democracy. Premier Duplessis has been busy by legislation and administrative action in undermining the civil liberties that used to be taken for granted in British communities. An hysterical campaign against communism has been whipped up, and both clerics and politicians are making loud appeals to French racial and religious solidarity. There is no doubt that the Catholic unions fit into the scheme of things as envisaged by the ruling groups in Quebec and that the international unions, whether C.I.O. or A. F. of L., do not. It is too soon yet to know what the masses of French-Canadian workers may think or do, but it is significant that two C.I.O. strikes, one in Cornwall, Ontario, and a more recent one in Montreal, were aggressively supported by the French-Canadian workers.

There are some signs, therefore, that the establishment of a fascist régime may meet with popular resistance. The garment industry in the Montreal area has just gone through a strike conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and won by them in spite of both clerical and political opposition. A wage agreement had been made between the manufacturers and the Catholic union in the industry. It turned out that the agreement set a level of wages lower than those allowed by the Minimum Wage Act of the province. At any rate, the I.L.G.W.U. refused to accept it. The Church authorities, displaying a remarkably Christian attitude towards the employers, who are mostly Jews, suggested that the I.L.G.W.U. was both anti-Catholic and communist in its tendencies. The Prime Minister threatened to arrest the leaders of the strike. But whatever the reasons may have been, the workers in the industry, mostly French Canadians, emphatically resisted these appeals. The I.L.G.W.U. leaders were not arrested and they won their strike for recognition and better wages.

As for Ontario, the C.I.O. claims to have enrolled 60,000 members already. So far both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders have tried to avoid trouble with one another in Canada, but the fight between the two bodies will probably spread from the United States. There has been trouble in the Hamilton (Ontario) Trades and Labor

Council, which includes unions of both groups, and the initiative here came directly from A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The future in Canada depends upon what happens in the United States. At the moment, confronted by the twin dangers of Americanism and communism as allegedly personified by John L. Lewis, the Canadian people appear to be fairly calm. If the C.I.O. continues its triumphant advance in American industry, neither the A. F. of L. nor Canadian employers nor Canadian provincial governments will be able for long to resist it in Canada. In labor matters, as in so many other matters, we can forecast our Canadian future by examining the recent past of the United States.

Canada Between Two Worlds

By THE EDITORS

TAKING into consideration the facts that Canada is the United States' second best customer, that this country is a substantial partner in the economy of her northern neighbor, that the groundplan of Canadian society is, save for the French, essentially American, the interest in and knowledge of Canada existing south of the border is negligible.

To some Americans, Canada conjures up visions of Rin-Tin-Tin performing feats worthy of a Sherlock Holmes across frozen wastes, or of Mounted Police relentlessly "getting their man" against an Arctic backdrop. Coming south a latitude or so, others picture the endless prairies of the "granary of the empire," generally farmed by the unregenerate offspring of the British aristocracy who have been sent out to "the colonies" to "make good" in a last despairing effort for redemption.

Then again, some recall the headlines of the astonishing monetary wizard of Alberta—discussed elsewhere in these pages—who sought to bring heaven and $25 a month for everybody to earth by normal legislative means. Or they are constantly reminded of the incredibly fertile and incomprehensible French-Canadians by the five child-faces which gape insistently from cereal advertisements. They may applaud or condemn the ebullient Mr. Hepburn's stand against the C.I.O., even though they do not remember that, earlier in his career, he offended against all the highest capitalistic tenets by repudiating some of the Ontario Government's power contracts.

Compare these fleeting impressions with the proximity and similarity of the two countries. There is no need to labor the obvious geographical fact that Canada is a North American nation; she shares with the United States 3,000 miles of frontier —a boundary which, to the everlasting delight of every after-dinner speaker, is undefended. Commercial relations are close. It is estimated that $18,500,000,000 of business capital is invested in Canada; of this approximately 62½ per cent is Canadian-owned, 15 per cent comes from Great Britain, and the substantial proportion of 22 per cent is owned by the United States. And of Canada's investments abroad, an estimated $1,254,000,000 has been placed in the United States, whereas only $109,000,000 has been invested in Great Britain and some $664,000,000 in other countries. The United States imports more from Canada than from any other nation, and finds Canada a buyer second only to the United Kingdom. From the Canadian point of view, her southern neighbor accounts for 47 per cent of her export and import trade, while the United Kingdom is responsible for 31½ per cent of the total. The United States is Canada's best source of supply and accounts for the bulk of her total export and import trade, although the United Kingdom is her best customer.

The close commercial relations undoubtedly weld a close bond between Canada and the United States. Among other

things, Canadian and American tastes in commodities are similar, Canadian trade unions are affiliated with American ones (see The C.I.O. Comes to Canada), and American branch factories lay down an American industrial technique for Canada.

These similarities extend beyond the economic sphere, for it is inevitable that an immediate and powerful neighbor of some 130,000,000 inhabitants should affect strongly a country with a population of only a little over 10,000,000.

So much for the similarities between Canada and the United States. Let us consider the differences. The first of these is a general one—the spirit of independence in Canada. This has developed with the growth of nationhood. Its outward and visible sign is Canada's membership in the League of Nations and her autonomous position in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But of more importance is the deeper feeling that she can stand on her own feet and does not want any interference from outside—a sentiment which applies both to Great Britain and the U. S. A.

The second factor which distinguishes Canada from America—and from England, for that matter—is the French-Canadian population, 88 per cent of which is concentrated in the province of Quebec. It is a significant but not generally recognized fact that the French account for nearly 30 per cent of the Canadian population (28.22 per cent according to the 1931 census figures). Bound together by the Catholic Church and by their strong racial consciousness, and gaining strength from their prodigious birth-rate, the predominant key to the French-Canadians is their consuming desire to maintain their racial and cultural identity against the twin threats of Protestantism and Americanism.

The Imperial Tie

The third important factor differentiating Canada from the United States is the Imperial tie. Canada's relationship with the United States is physical and immediate; her connection with Great Britain is psychological and traditional. Although she recognizes the King of England, as represented by the Governor-General, as her King, she is under no legal compulsion whatsoever to follow the British lead.

Just now this dual relationship with Great Britain and the United States is a splitting headache to Canadian statesmen, as the war issue accentuates its difficulties.

Broadly speaking, Canadians divide into three groups on this question of foreign policy. There are first of all the ardent Imperialists; they would follow Great Britain "right or wrong" and would flock to arms on the outbreak of war just as readily as the whole nation did in 1914. They are strong in conservative, industrial and financial, and military circles; geographically they are strongest in Ontario.

The strict nationalists comprise the second group. Their point of view is essentially a North American one, and they look at Europe in the same way as does the United States. They point out that Canada would have nothing to gain from participation in another British war and, while they admit the strength of the protection afforded by England's armed forces, they feel that Canada's geographical position is a better guarantee of safety. In this group can be numbered the French-Canadians, Eastern radicals and Western isolationists.

The third group—the supporters of the League of Nations—is notable more for the convenience than the realism of its particular solution. Ideally speaking, this program seeks to avoid the bitter internal conflict which would inevitably follow the exclusive pursuit of one or the other of the two previous policies during a crisis; it would attempt to avert that crisis by preventing war and, even if unsuccessful in that aim, it would only commit Canada to participation in a "League war" arising out of the application of sanctions. Formerly composed of a substantial body of moderate liberal opinion, this group has inevitably lost strength with the passing of the League. Its remaining adherents may now be virtually classified with the Imperialists, in that a "League war" tomorrow would be

a very different matter from the original —and somewhat more idealistic—conception. Other members, disillusioned with the present English Government's insincere support of the League's ideals, have slipped off into the ranks of the nationalists.

As for the Government, it is uneasily poised between the two extremes. It cannot commit itself to either one, for by doing so it would split the nation from coast to coast. Nothing illustrates its position more clearly than the recent defense appropriations. The original estimates called for an expenditure of $50,000,000 on the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The sum was criticized strongly—especially by the Middle Westerners in the Liberal Party—as being much too large for the mere defense of Canada and as being designed for overseas use, and the Government was forced to reduce the figure by some 30 per cent. Mr. Ian MacKenzie, the Defense Minister, asserted that "the entire conception of Canadian naval, military, and aerial defense," was based upon the protection of the Pacific or Atlantic coasts from sporadic raids by sea or air. Yet he did not mention from what quarter these raids might be expected. Nor did he explain just what use tank regiments would be for these purposes. And many Canadians are suspicious of the degree of cooperation between Canadian and English military authorities. Mr. Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, suggested that the increased armaments could be used to defend the country against communism. Like Mr. MacKenzie's statement, this explanation does not hide the obvious fact that Canada has provided itself with the nucleus of a fighting force which could be used in an Empire war.

Mr. Mackenzie King did not shed much more light upon the situation when he said, "What we are doing is for the defense of Canada and of Canada only," adding, however, the very significant qualification, "But I hope that will not be construed to mean that we are not thereby making some contribution to the defense of all English-speaking countries and all democracies."

PREMIER MACKENZIE KING: "What we are doing is for the defense of Canada, and of Canada only, but . . ."

What the Canadian Government is actually doing is following two policies—the nationalist and the imperialist—at once, without making any commitments in either direction. There is no realistic middle-of-the-road policy, such as might have been afforded by a workable League of Nations, and the Government does not wish to provoke unprecedented internal dissension either by advocating rigid neutrality, implying a much closer relationship with the United States, or by converting the Imperial tie into a military alliance, which would mean certain involvement in the next British war.

This dilemma explains the ambiguity of Canadian foreign policy. It also explains Mr. King's unwillingness to assume any commitments at the recent Imperial Conference and his notable plea for an all-round lowering of tariffs, which he feels, in sympathy with Secretary Hull, may prevent an emergency which holds out to Canadians the unpleasing prospects of external war or internal scission, or both.

PUZZLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

What will happen when the Islands cut loose the last strings binding them to Uncle Sam?

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE Philippines, that archipelago of green lush tropical islands in the southern Pacific, with their sugar plantations, cocoanut groves and hemp fields, and their largely undeveloped mineral resources, represents one of the international problems on which America must soon make up its mind. During his recent visit to the United States, the President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Mr. Manuel L. Quezon, suggested an advancement of the date of independence from 1946 to 1938 or 1939.

Apparently there is no great opposition to this proposal on the American side. But if the Philippines are to embark on their career as an independent nation within such a near future, there are several points on which America must make a decision. It is stipulated in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which regulates America's relations with the Islands at the present time, that United States troops are to be withdrawn as soon as the status of independence is realized. But whether America is to maintain a naval base is a question which has been left open for future discussion. An international neutralization agreement has been suggested as a means of assuring the future safety of the Philippines against foreign aggression. Could such an agreement be reconciled with the spectacle of American warships riding at anchor in the Bay of Manila? And what, if any, commitments should America undertake to maintain the neutrality of its former dependency?

The question of future trade relations is very important. The Tydings-McDuffie Act provides that existing free-trade commercial relations are to be maintained until 1940, subject to a quota system which limits the amounts of Philippine sugar, cocoanut-oil, and cordage that may be shipped to America duty-free. The limits are 850,000 tons for sugar, 200,000 tons for cocoanut-oil, and 3,000,000 pounds for cordage. Beginning with 1941, the Philippine Government is obligated to levy a tax amounting to five per cent of the American tariff rate on its exports to the United States. This tax is to increase annually by five per cent, so that a figure of 25 per cent will be reached by 1945. After full independence is realized the regular American tariff schedules will be applied to Philippine products and the Philippines will be free to impose tariffs on American goods.

This arrangement has been widely criticized in the Philippines as unfair, since it preserves a preferential status for American goods while gradually raising trade barriers against Philippine products in America. This is apparently one of the considerations which induced President Quezon to propose that the date of independence be advanced.

The economic and hence the social and political outlook for the new Republic of the Philippines will be greatly affected by the solution of the trade problem between America and the Philippines. Under the sunny influence of free access to the richest market in the world, the Philippines have tended to turn into a vast sugar-bowl. Sugar is the backbone of the Philippine economy at the present time. It represents about sixty per cent of the country's exports. In value it is worth almost all the other agricultural crops taken together. It furnishes a livelihood to millions of people and provides the Government with about half of its normal revenue. And the whole

of the crop, except for a small part which is consumed within the Islands, is sold to America.

There can be little doubt that the imposition of the full American tariff will sound the death-knell of the Philippine sugar industry, with all the political, economic, and social dislocations which this is likely to entail. Philippine sugar cannot compete on equal terms with the Cuban and Javan product. Cuba is much closer to America, with the result that freight and interest charges are appreciably lower. Java is better adapted to sugar cultivation, and the plantations there are better organized.

Other industries besides sugar will be partly or entirely extinguished if the Philippines are shut out of the American tariff system. One of these is cigar-making, which gives employment to tens of thousands of workers in and around Manila. Theoretically, of course, the Islands could become more self-sufficient and turn to the production of palm-oil, spices, and other tropical products which are in demand in America. But the Filipino is not as a rule a very enterprising business man, and it will not be easy to compete with other tropical countries in new lines of cultivation.

So America faces the question whether it is worthwhile, for the sake of promoting sales of American goods to the Philippines and also with a view to averting the disorder and civil disturbance which might be not unreasonably expected as a result of a sudden lowering of the standard of living, to conclude a new trade agreement with the Philippines which will maintain some elements of mutual commercial preference after the political ties between the two countries have been severed. In the present mood of America it may be easier to grant commercial concessions than to assume political commitments which would expose the United States to the danger of being drawn into a Far Eastern conflict over the Philippines.

Since November 1935 the Philippines have been under a transitional, so-called Commonwealth régime, which is supposed to serve as a bridge between the former American administration and complete independence. An elected Filipino President now occupies the former residence of the American Governor-General. Executive and legislative powers, so far as internal affairs are concerned, are in Filipino hands.

Pictures

L'ETAT C'EST MOI: One of his admirers once said that Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth, "has more power than Mussolini." Mr. Quezon is shown above as he chatted with reporters on his recent visit to Washington.

The United States Government, however, retains extensive reserved rights during this transitional period. It may "intervene for the preservation of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and for the maintenance of the government as provided in the Constitution thereof." American financial interests in the Philippines, although not very large (a competent authority has estimated the total American

investment there at about $75,000,000) are carefully safeguarded under the Tydings-McDuffie Act. So the President of the United States may suspend the application of any law which, in his judgment, will result in the failure of the Commonwealth Government to meet its financial obligations. His approval is also required for any amendment to the Philippine Constitution, which is closely, although not slavishly, modeled on that of the United States.

Authority and Responsibility

During the Commonwealth period America has the right to maintain military and naval forces in the Philippines. There are now about 4,000 American troops stationed in and around Manila. Six thousand Philippine Scouts, Filipinos who have enlisted in the American Army, are also in the Islands. The American Asiatic Squadron has its main base at Cavite, on the Bay of Manila. Philippine foreign relations are in the hands of the United States Government. So, pending the granting of complete independence, America has retained both potential authority and potential responsibility.

About a year and a half have elapsed since the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth. What have been the results of the cessation of direct American administration; what have been the first steps toward nationhood?

The feature of Philippine life that strikes the visitor most forcibly at the present time is the hectic boom in gold-mining. It is no exaggeration to say that every other person I met in Manila and in the provinces was either directly connected with gold promotion in some capacity or at least displayed a lively interest in the rise and fall of the mercurial gold stocks. Almost 350 gold-mining companies have been organized; sober outside observers estimate that about one-tenth of these offer serious investment prospects. Heavy mortality is anticipated among the others, and many Filipinos who have plunged their money into the boom may find that gold-mining is an even more expensive form of gambling than the old favorite national sport of cockfighting.

Apart from the purely speculative features of the boom, which are certain to cause a corrective reaction in time, there has been a substantial rise in Philippine gold output. Gold is widely scattered over the Islands, the mountainous parts of Luzon, largest and most populous of the archipelago, being one of the richest regions. But the veins, as a rule, are not particularly thick, and a good deal of capital expenditure and engineering work is required before the ore can be extracted.

The rise in the price of gold that was the accompaniment of the devaluation of the dollar gave just the needed stimulus to the Philippine mines. It created a margin of profit for working many deposits where the cost of extraction, at the old price, would have exceeded the return. The result has been that the output of the yellow metal has almost trebled during the last four years, and the Philippines now ranks fifth among the gold producers of the world. The output of gold in 1932 amounted to 244,292 ounces, valued at 10,200,107 pesos, or about 5,100,000 American dollars. By 1935 the production had risen to 449,086 ounces of gold, which realized 31,436,028 pesos; and the value of gold mined in 1936 was about 45,000,000 pesos. An output of 80,000,000 pesos within the next decade is considered not improbable.

The immediate furore over gold should not obscure the fact that the Islands possess other forms of mineral wealth which may, in the long run, prove more valuable. The output of iron has now reached the figure of half a million tons a year, all of which is bought by Japan. The Island Empire is also a ready buyer of chromium, an ore which is very useful in the manufacture of armorplate and stainless steel. There are large chromium deposits in the Masinloc district, on the coast of Luzon, north of Manila. Copper and manganese deposits are known to exist, but have not yet been exploited on a large scale. Oil in commercially profitable quantity has not been discovered in the Islands.

Designs for the Future

With America in the background as both a protective and a restraining force, the first 18 months of the Commonwealth cannot be regarded as a fair test of the probable course of events under an entirely independent Filipino régime. Yet some designs in the future national pattern are already being worked out. As might be expected, the character of the Philippine state is being influenced both by the Spanish-Malay racial and historical background and by the political and social trends which have been making themselves felt all over the world since the War.

Three contemporary influences are especially perceptible in the Philippines today. One is the trend toward strong personal government. The second is the universal urge, quite as strong in Asia as in Europe, toward increased armaments. The third is the growing belief that the state, while asserting more authority over its subjects than old-fashioned liberalism would approve, should also assume positive responsibility for remedying social injustice and promoting general welfare.

"Strong personal government" is incarnated in Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Commonwealth Government. With a background as publicist, lawyer, and nationalist agitator, Quezon possesses a quick and volatile mind, a *flair* for the spectacular, and a highly developed capacity both for rhetoric and for satire.

Although the Philippine Constitution is a democratic document, Quezon has succeeded in concentrating a vast amount of authority in his own hands. One of his admirers, General Paulino Santos, Chief of Staff of the newly organized Philippine Army, said to me: "Our President has more power than Mussolini." What Santos meant as a favorable statement, Quezon's enemies often say in criticism, using the term "fascist" to characterize the present state of affairs.

This is an exaggeration; if the Philippines are to go in for a Spanish-Oriental brand of fascism the experiment must wait at least until the last traces of American supervision are removed. It is true, however, that Quezon has given a strong and, on the surface at least, unopposed lead in the shaping of legislative and executive policies. The single party in the unicameral legislature has been a docile instrument in his hands, obediently passing all the bills which he recommended. The nationalization of the police force and the vesting in the President of the right to appoint the mayors of the larger towns have enhanced Quezon's grip on the administrative machinery.

A board of censorship headed by the Minister of the Interior censors all radio programs. A bureau of information, which has been set up to keep the people acquainted with the Government's activities, is mildly suggestive of the organized state propaganda that is such a feature of the modern-style dictatorship.

Quezon is an ardent advocate of military preparedness and heaps scorn on pacifists and opposition critics who, as he says, would try to protect the Islands with wordy speeches. And the new scheme of national defense, like the gold boom, is one of the things that strikes the attention of the observer soon after he gets off the ship in Manila. Military parades are a frequent sight in the streets and parks; high-school and university students may be seen drilling; all over the Islands one finds barracks and equipment in the scores of camps which have been opened to train the Philippine Army.

The MacArthur Plan

This force is being organized according to a plan worked out by Major-General Douglas MacArthur, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army, who is acting as military adviser to President Quezon. The latter, with his love of dramatic gestures, has appointed General MacArthur to the rank of Field-Marshal in the Philippine Army.

The MacArthur plan calls for the combination of a comparatively small standing army of 19,000 with a large trained citizen reserve. 40,000 men are to be trained for

five and a half months every year. An annual appropriation of 16,000,000 pesos (about a quarter of the budget) is reserved for the Army.

General MacArthur, with whom I talked at length during my recent visit to the Philippines, professed entire confidence that his plan would provide adequate security against foreign attack. In support of this belief he emphasized the difficulties of transporting large bodies of troops for overseas operations, as shown at Gallipoli during the World War, and pointed to the rugged and difficult nature of the Philippine terrain as a valuable defensive factor.

"The threat to large surfaceships of small fast torpedo-boats, supported by air detachments, was recently indicated in the Mediterranean," he declared. "Practical landing places for large forces in the Philippines are few in number and difficult in character. The vital area of Luzon, in which seven million Filipinos dwell, presents in all its long shoreline only two coastal regions in which an army of any size could land. Sixty per cent of the national terrain of the Islands consists of great forest areas, impenetrable by powerful military units."

Not all observers are as optimistic as General MacArthur about the ability of the Philippines to defend themselves if they are thrown entirely on their own resources. The northernmost of the seven thousand islands of the archipelago can be seen on a clear day from the southern tip of Formosa, and Japanese mandated islands hem in the Philippines from the northeast and east. Japan is, of course, overwhelmingly superior in naval and air power. It is doubtful whether the Philippine Government can raise the money or develop the technical resources to maintain a powerful air force of its own.

The third point in which the Philippine régime is in line with modern trends is in the establishment of more state control over economic life. A National Economic Council has been created for the purpose of advising the Government on economic and financial questions and formulating an economic plan based on national independence. A rice and corn corporation, capitalized with state funds, has been set up with a view to promoting self-sufficiency in food and stabilizing the price of rice, protecting the peasant producer, so far as possible, against exploitation by speculators.

The Constitution lays down the principle of state ownership of the natural resources of the country. Exploitation of these resources is reserved for Philippine citizens and corporations in which at least 60 per cent of the capital is owned by Philippine citizens. During the Commonwealth period Americans enjoy equal rights with Filipinos. Afterwards a more severe policy of restriction may be anticipated, unless some special economic agreement is concluded.

"Protest Party"

Social unrest is acute in some parts of the Islands, especially in the big rice *haciendas* of Central Luzon, where bitter disputes between tenants and landlords, both lay and Church, over rent increases and evictions are not uncommon. It was in this region that the Sakdalista uprising, suppressed with some loss of life and followed by wholesale prison sentences for the participants, occurred in the spring of 1935. The word Sakdal means protest and the Sakdal party, which finds its leaders among radical lawyers and publicists and its rank-and-file among the poorer peasants, capitalizes the popular discontent with abuses of landlordism, usury, and corruption in office. The Sakdalistas lack an outstanding leader and a clearcut program; but the authorities are constantly apprehensive of new outbreaks at their instigation.

President Quezon has taken the stand that social justice is the sole adequate remedy for this festering discontent. Several laws designed to remove the more obvious grievances have been enacted. For instance, the tenant's right of property in his home site has been established. Formerly the landlord could tear down and destroy the little thatched shack of the tenant who dis-

pleased him. A minimum wage of one peso a day has been decreed for all government employees and a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes is being introduced. The situation seems to call for more drastic reform measures, such as the purchase and resale to small holders of those large estates where labor troubles are most frequent and more energetic state support for emigration to the large undeveloped southern island of Mindanao.

Despite these social problems and despite the difficulties of racial adjustment with the primitive and warlike half million Mohammedan Moros who inhabit Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago to the south, there is every prospect that the Filipinos, if spared any especially severe shock, could govern themselves as successfully as the average Latin-American state.

Indeed the similarity, both in climate and in racial and social set-up between the Philippines and many countries of Central and South America is very striking. One finds the same Spanish and *mestizo*, or mixed blood, upper and middle class, while the Tagalogs, Viscayans, Ilicanos, and other Malay *taos* (peasants) in the Philippines are not unlike the Latin-American Indians.

The economic stability of the Islands depends largely on the terms of the final trade agreement with the United States. The political stability is closely bound up with the attitude which Japan will take toward an independent Philippines.

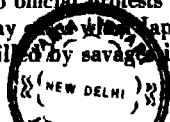
Japan's Shadow

The shadow of Japan looms large in the Philippines. Pedro Guevara, former Philippine Commissioner in Washington, is now out of politics and can therefore talk more bluntly than officials who must weigh their words in referring to a foreign power.

"My viewpoint about the desirability of complete independence for the Philippines underwent a definite change when Japan seized Manchuria," Mr. Guevara said to me. "Only a blind man can fail to see that Japan desires to dominate the Philippines, with their rich undeveloped resources and their strategic location. First will come Japanese economic investment, then immigration, finally, political domination."

At the present time, Japanese policy in relation to the Philippines cannot be fairly described as aggressive. A good deal of alarm has been stirred up over the intensive cultivation of hemp plantations in the neighborhood of Davao, on the southern coast of Mindanao. About 14,000 of the approximately 20,000 Japanese in the Philippines live in this region and an area of about 150,000 acres is under Japanese cultivation. The Japanese have unmistakably shown more efficiency, more capacity for labor organization than the Filipinos: and this may be an augury for the future. The Philippine authorities, however, hope to check this economic penetration, by refusing to renew sub-leases of Japanese holders as they run out, by setting convicts to work on land adjacent to the Japanese holdings, and by encouraging immigration into Mindanao from the more crowded islands to the north.

In the Philippines, as in almost all oriental markets, Japanese textiles have made noteworthy progress, and the Chinese, the traditional shopkeeper of the Islands, finds himself hard pressed by the competition of Japanese retailers. Most of the fishing in Philippine waters is done by Japanese boats. The former Japanese consul in Manila, Mr. Atsushi Kimura, in the course of an address at the University of the Philippines, outlined a program of future Japanese peaceful penetration. He predicted a shrinkage of American trade as the time for independence approaches, suggested that Japan could supply much cheaper manufactured goods than those of other countries in exchange for raw materials, and advised the institution of a currency system independent of the American dollar.

Such Japanese pronouncements, however, are rare. In general the Japanese attitude is reserved and discreet. There have been no official protests in connection with the many [illegible] Japanese settlers have been killed by savages in the jungles

of Mindanao. Japanese immigration into the Philippines is rigidly controlled at home, with a view to averting any need for vexing immigration restrictions.

It is obvious that a new situation will arise when America dissociates itself from political responsibility in the Philippines. A poor, overwhelmingly agricultural state of fourteen million people, mostly of Malay stock, cannot enjoy the large degree of almost automatic security that fell to the lot of the colonial dependency of the richest and economically most powerful country in the world.

At the moment there is no concrete proof whatever that Japan cherishes any specific designs against the independence of the Philippines. But there is also no certainty as to the course of events after the American flag is lowered in the Islands. Disputes over the right of Japanese subjects to cultivate land, to invest in industrial and mining enterprises may conceivably become sharper. In the event of any disturbances endangering the lives and property of Japanese, intervention, which might or might not be of a temporary character, cannot be ruled out as a possibility.

In the event that no preferential commercial agreement is concluded between America and the Philippines, the Islands will be almost pushed into the arms of Japan. In such a case the islanders would be obliged to adjust themselves to a much lower standard of living and might find their best recourse to a large-scale exchange of their mineral and tropical products for Japan's inexhaustible supply of cheap manufactures.

It is by no means unlikely that other countries besides Japan may take a more active interest in the Philippines if America renounces all responsibility for their future fate. Great Britain in Malaya, France in Indo-China, the Netherlands in the East Indies could scarcely remain indifferent to outright Japanese domination of the rich and strategically located Philippine archipelago.

"Road to Ruin"

THE Tydings-McDuffie Act is a blind-alley leading nowhere but to ruin. Even if the economic provisions were amended to make them less severe, the Act comprehends a period of only ten years, and after that, what? A special treaty relationship between the United States and an independent Philippines could provide for almost any desired set-up, and could be made practically permanent.

Independence, however, could probably not come as early as 1938 or 1939, for the present commercial treaties of the United States with foreign nations do not all expire or come up for renewal until 1941, and until then, therefore, it would not be possible to revise them in such a manner as to make it possible to extend preferential treatment to an independent Philippines, at least without the consent of the nations concerned. It is most significant, however, and encouraging, that the reciprocal trade agreements which the American State Department has recently negotiated with a number of foreign nations contain a clause to the effect that the terms of these agreements shall not preclude "advantages now or hereafter accorded to the Philippine Islands notwithstanding any change that may take place in the political status of the Philippine Islands."

Philippine Magazine

OLD EGYPT GROWS UP

A strong nation, capable of self-support, has come of age on the banks of the Nile

By EMIL LUDWIG

THE question of Egyptian independence was being decided on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. Before we do anything else we must pay tribute first and foremost to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Before the founding of the League of Nations such conferences only took place perhaps once in ten years; today as many as ten may be held within a year. It is quite possible that the world has become fed up with these numberless conferences, which have been to no avail in allaying our fears or in warding off the threat of another war. It must be admitted, however, that this new kind of diplomatic activity, because of the speed with which it works, seems able to adapt itself better and better to the exigencies of our times, and renders considerable service everytime that it takes it upon itself to settle so-called "internal" affairs. Just as the Turks did only a short while ago, the Egyptians bid good-bye to the same hotel in Montreux, taking along with them a document full of official signatures and stamps. Though it may not offer the final solution, the document will nevertheless contribute considerably towards clarifying Egypt's internal problems.

Egypt has been making increased efforts to shatter those humiliating bonds of capitulations, a chain of privileges for the Europeans who have so brazenly and unscrupulously made themselves masters of the Nile and have harshly treated this most ancient nation of history.

From 1930 up to 1933 I spent some time each winter in Egypt. One day—it was Christmas Eve and the gigantic Assuan Dam was decorated from one end to the other with beautiful green flags, the color of the New Egypt—I witnessed an endless stream of automobiles proudly bedecked with the national banners. These cars were filled to capacity with dark-skinned men who wore big white shirts that seemed to wave in the breeze. They were singing and shouting, for their party had won an important electoral victory and they had been told that their subjugation was about to come to an end. A little later, not far away, I was able to see Nahas Pasha, chairman of the present Geneva Conference, in his hotel. Pasha is the most ardent follower and the best disciple of the great Zaghloul, who, true prophet that he was, died without seeing his dreams realized.

At that time the Wafdist victory meant a triumph for England and a blow to the various Anglophile elements. The history of the Wafdists resembles that of all national revolutionary parties—a student revolt, the assassination of the Governor of the English Sudan, rigorous measures imposed by Great Britain, the arrest of the leader, his exile, his return, and parleys and negotiations once more. . . .

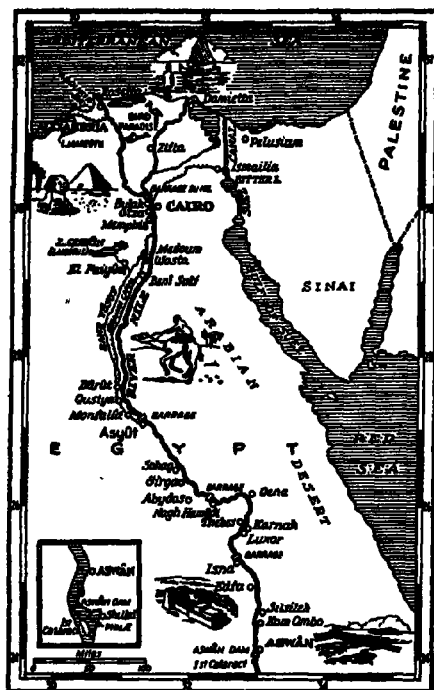
On the occasion of the interview that took place in London between Zaghloul and Ramsay MacDonald, British Prime Minister at the time. MacDonald, I was later told by the interpreter, asked:

"Just where do you want our troops confined to?"

And Zaghloul promptly replied:

"To England! . . ."

A Bourgeois King

The late King Fuad's task was not an easy one. His ultra-republican subjects were unable to forgive him for having mounted to power only because of the English. Even Fuad, for this same reason, felt

unable to do those things he thought best. Though simple and unassuming, he was a great statesman and a real bourgeois king. I had the opportunity to see him three or four times during the last years of his reign and to express my gratitude to him for the truly regal favor he had bestowed upon me: he had placed at my disposal one of the ships in his fleet in order to facilitate the work of documentation for my book on the Nile.

We conversed in Italian, the language which he had known from early childhood and in which he had been educated. It is, perhaps, thanks to this that he took me into his confidence. On one occasion, he discoursed for more than two hours on the art of reigning, a discussion that it is still too early to reproduce at full length.

"I am acquainted with all classes," he said to me, "princes and coachmen, soldiers and generals. I have been taught to recognize the thirst for money and the strength of human passions. The fatal decadence that evidenced itself in the Hapsburgs was for the most part due to an education neglected in certain aspects, the consequences of which I was able to see at first hand during the years I spent in Vienna. As for myself, not having been born to reign, I had to rely on my own native powers."

Dressed in the long, gray lounge-jacket that the Egyptians seem to prefer, wearing a fez, and seated at his desk in his immense, but dull and cold, palace, he gave one the impression of a man who can look reality straight in the face. His disregard for those formalities which are ordinarily so dear to Oriental monarchs would have caused one to take him almost for a plain landowner. He would often express himself most vehemently when talking of dictatorships; I don't know whether this was because of his inner convictions or simply to hide his dictatorial aspirations. Thus, one day he said to me:

"Anyone can come into my house. So long as he stays there, seated face to face with me, I shall have no cause to doubt his loyalty. And when he leaves, he is free to think what he wishes. At any rate, I have found men from the common people, more than fifty of them, who never even dreamt of becoming ministers and yet who because of my wishes obtained these positions."

"And how many really capable ones among them did you find?" I asked him.

"I have forgotten the figures," he replied with a sly smile. "But I'm positive that the most upright man is not always the most prudent statesman. When faced with the unexpected, the upright man will lose his head, his sense of balance will go to the winds, and he will abandon his job in the very midst of the conflict."

The Royal Signature

Fuad realized that he had a great many enemies in his country, but Egyptian independence (which was not proclaimed until July, 1936) was at that time only a distant dream. In order that I might become better acquainted with the state of mind of the government officials, I resorted to a

little artifice. The King had given me a small map of the Nile on which, at my request, he had affixed his signature. Each time that an engineer or any official came aboard my ship I would unfold the map and, taking extreme pains to display the royal signature, I would say with a feigned indifference:

"This map was given to me by your King as a gift."

On hearing this some of them would immediately bow most respectfully; they were the faithful supporters of Fuad. Others, on the other hand, would merely limit themselves to saying:

"Oh, yes . . ."

From this I would conclude that the latter were of the opposition, that popular movement against England which had grown tremendously during the ten years of battles and propaganda launched by the Nationalist party. The movement was stronger than at the time of Lord Cromer. Possibly it was just as powerful as it had been at the time of Arabi Pasha, the Nationalist hero and leader of the second revolt of the "fellahs" or laborers—the first revolt had taken place in 2300 B.C.! Furthermore, one had only to watch the wrinkled face of any old "fellah" shrink with hatred whenever he passed the large barracks of the English, right near the Nile. And one could also see the way in which the rich merchants scornfully and bitterly turned their backs on the English officers in the more exclusive Cairo bars. For it must not be forgotten that until the last few years admittance to the English clubs was denied these rich Egyptians, though the latter at the same time were being received at the royal courts of Europe. It may be added that their marriage with European women never failed to provoke unanimous indignation on the part of the English.

If all this now belongs to the past, we have the Nationalists to thank for it. Yet who knows just what turn events may take? Today, Egypt possesses neither a fighting army nor navy, and as a result the national budget shows assets, not a deficit—a most rare phenomenon for our times. It is well-known, of course, that the reason for the liabilities in the European budgets is above all due to the mad race for armaments. In Egypt we see the reverse of this picture. King Fuad actually assured me one day that when he wore civilian clothes his reasoning was always much different from what it was when he wore a uniform. He never told me which of the two he preferred, but I think I know.

History shows that the Egyptians are in the right when they demand independence for their country. The conference at Montreux has liberated them from that shameful slavery which certain Europeans have exploited. The latter have amassed huge fortunes while committing numberless crimes for which they have gone unpunished. It is a fatal prejudice of our day and age that makes us consider people of certain races as being all endowed with all the good qualities and those of other races as being only fit to step on. It is this prejudice which is greatly responsible for the delusions of grandeur which took possession of the Europeans on Egyptian soil. Europeans too often have a tendency to forget that Egyptians are not negroes: perhaps they have never learned that the Egyptian civilization was the mother of theirs.

When the white man's privileges in Egypt have been taken away from him there will finally be restored to this country the dignity it deserves—a dignity stolen from it by the six foreign nations who colonized it. Those things that the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Turks, and the English created in this country cannot make up for the wealth that was usurped from it. The English, of course, did more in fifty years than the Turks did in five hundred; but times are changing, and those people, who only yesterday still had something to learn, today constitute a young and strong nation, capable of getting along henceforth without any foreign guardianship.

AMERICA'S MARITIME PROGRAM

Before members of the Propeller Club of the United States, Joseph P. Kennedy, chairman of the new Maritime Commission, outlined an immediate program to "build ships—the best and most modern ships—and build them right away."

Mr. Kennedy said:

"So far as the commissioners are concerned, the nation may count upon their unanimous determination to administer this act with all the skill and fairness at their command. We must meet many difficult problems of understanding and judgment. We must have more than technical skill. We must be statesmen who can both harmonize the individual interests of the various groups affected by this statute and subordinate such interests to the national welfare. We are the agents of no class. We are the servants of the whole American people.

"The determination of a proper subsidy is certain to be a difficult task dependent on many variables. In the beginning our approach may not be as scientific as we would like.

"But of this you may be sure. We shall not forget the terms of the statute that we do not serve as guarantors of profit. We have not been appointed to subsidize laziness, inefficiency and poor management. No greater blight can come upon the shipping industry, or, for that matter, upon any operating enterprise, than the belief that its success or failure is determined by the profit it can make out of the government.

"The ship operator is, of course, the key to the success of the whole program. So far as he is concerned; if the commission determines that he operates in an essential trade route and that he is financially able to carry out his venture, he need no longer fear the threat of unfair competition in costs. Under this law it will then become a contest of his intelligence, skill, industry and thrift against similar qualities in his competitor. There is a deeply ingrained tradition of the American businessman on land or on sea to ask for nothing but 'a fair field and no favor.' The American shipping industry may take heart that any present disadvantage, arising out of its position in an internationally competitive business, will be eliminated, and that in the application of the law, political or other improper considerations are to have no standing whatsoever.

"So far as the shipbuilder is concerned, we must frankly recognize that the statute represents an effort to subsidize his industry. This has not been done because the administration has a particular affection for the ship construction companies of this country. Not at all. It was done because a realistic Congress recognized that in the scheme of national defense, as well as for the proper assurance of replacements of our merchant marine, the preservation of the shipbuilding industry must be maintained. And shipyards to be really maintained must be used as well as equipped. They must not rust while they wait—they must be going concerns.

"Of course we will pay more for ships so constructed. But we will be paying for more than just the ships themselves. This construction differential subsidy is for the builder, not the operator. And even for the builder the only advantage will be his increased business. In that American labor and material men will participate.

"There need be no profiteering. The government is permitted by the statute to enter the ship construction industry, if necessary, to stop profiteering.

"But regardless of the powers the government has to prevent unfair practices, I feel that the leaders of the industry are going voluntarily to show themselves to be broad-gauged enough to recognize that the future of their business depends on the success or failure of our present efforts. If a sound and constructive administration results from the cooperation of all groups, the shipbuilding industry can be assured of an orderly program of replacements to create a steady demand for its services.

"The act requires the commission to establish minimum manning scales, minimum wage scales and reasonable working conditions for all officers and crews employed on all types of vessels receiving an operating differential subsidy. The act further provides that any increase in operation costs by reason of a rise in wages or a change in working conditions shall be added to the ship operator's differential subsidy. That means that the government now determines the standards of a self-respecting life at sea—and the taxpaying public pays the additional cost.

"Any oppression of American seamen that may have been chargeable to the unfair attitude of ship operators in the past is hereafter to be outlawed by force of the statute. And because the commission does realize the importance of manpower on shipboard and that it cannot be had in this day and age of competition ashore without a square deal, shipping labor can rest assured that for economic as well as humane reasons the commission will see to it that they get a square deal."

EMPIRE OF THE AIR

In the final analysis, the control of radio is in the hands of 130,000,000 Americans

By W. CARROLL MUNRO

RADIO belongs to the people. Held in trust for them by the Federal Government, it is operated by private companies for private gain only under condition that it serve primarily the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." Beyond that, radio belongs to the listener. For the peculiar nature of radio broadcast and reception endows each individual with unusual power. With one hand on the dial the listener dictates his will, and if his taste is in the majority, indirectly influences the will of the broadcasters whose only concern is to please him within limits of decency and common sense.

To some, gagging a crooner with a twist of the dial is as nothing compared to strangling a noisy Philharmonic. Others glue their ears to the pumping rhythm of the "Baron's Swing Band," or suck up the last episode of "I Am a Cradle Robber." The intelligentsia, scorning this patent degeneracy, consoles itself with the string ensembles or the piping of some professor lamenting the decay of civilization. Radio runs the gamut from insane entertainment to profound philosophical sermons; in short, every man to his own noise.

Progressively the conception of radio broadcast and communication spreads out infinitely from the 50,000 amateur operators to the puzzled scientists in television studios, and finally to the listening masses who, least of all, need vindicate their radio preference—for they own the air and all things thereof. Not the navy, not the army, not the money interests, nor a political party, but the people, through the agency of their Government, control radio. And many have called it the peoples' last great resource.

Actually, radio broadcasting is composed of scarcely more than ten per cent of radio activity. Yet it is the focal point of all radio, dramatic in the sense that it is participated in by the masses, and of limitless value in that it has outstripped all other agencies in its influence on people individually or collectively. Dozens of other specific functions ranging from maritime radio protecting the lives of thousands of steamship passengers and millions of tons of freight, to police radio protecting the lives of many millions more are of supreme importance. Yet one or all of them must yield in the public mind to radio broadcasting for entertainment and education.

As a phenomenon, broadcasting is a child of the post-war years. If in 1906, Reginald A. Fessenden, of the De Forest Company, broadcast a Christmas Eve program of music and speech it wasn't until 1927 that the Federal Government irrevocably brought the lusty industrial adolescent to heel. Prior to that radio was a wild confusion. The first stations for organized broadcasting were established in 1921. Programs consisted of phonograph records and miscellaneous talks and were tolerated only because of their novelty. In 1922 broadcasting stations sprouted like mushrooms and numbered 382 by the end of the year. Operated by newspapers, electrical companies, department stores, educational institutions, and municipal governments they set up a horrible clamor and confusion. In each succeeding year new stations came on the air until they taxed the limited number of wave lengths available. And this latter fact must not be forgotten. Because of mechanical limitations there has not been and is not now enough radio space for all those who have the desire or the money to broadcast.

RADIO AND THE PEOPLE: Broadcasting is dramatic in the sense that it is participated in by the masses, and is of limitless value in that it has outstripped all other agencies in its influence on people, individually or collectively.

Broadcasting is a unique industry in that revenues do not come directly from the users of the service. Advertisers pay the freight in return for an opportunity to exploit themselves or their products. And for those who still think that advertising is an unnatural growth, it is pointed out that the virtues of radio as an advertising medium are such that its continued support is assured. Broadcasting is not a public, philanthropic, nor propaganda enterprise. It is today, as it has always been, a business for profit. And the commercial hucksters need not apologize. By virtue of their money, American broadcasting has risen to a position not only unchallenged, but unapproached by other nations.

A glance at the combined money revenues of the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System networks demonstrates most graphically the phenomenal rise of network advertising —from $3,760,010 in 1927, to $10,252,497 in 1928, to $18,729,571, in 1929, to $26,815,746 in 1930, to $35,791,199 in 1931, to $39,106,776 in 1932. In 1933, there was a decline to $31,516,298, but revenues rose to $42,659,461 in 1934, and to $48,786,735 in 1935. Drugs and toilet goods lead the list of radio advertising expenditures with foods and food beverages following a close second. However, a cursory survey of advertising products would lead a stranger to believe that Americans were: (1) chronically constipated; (2) troubled with decaying teeth; (3) suffering from unbearably noxious body odors; (4) concerned with pustulate complexions; (5) on the verge of buying an automobile; (6) anxious to oil up an engine; (7) interested in the fragrant aroma of rare tobaccos; and (8) in the market for a character-building whiskey.

Newspapers and Radio

With such phenomenal growth in national prominence and, more annoying than that, in advertising revenues, commercial radio broadcasting directly has antagonized a large portion of the American press, although many newspapers owned and operated broadcasting stations from the very beginning. At the base of the rivalry is the fact that advertising reve-

nues and news control have always been considered by newspaper publishers as an inviolable province of their very own. Thus, at the instance of news gathering associations innumerable suits have been brought against broadcasting stations seeking damages for infringement of copyright. However, the newspaper publishers have been unable to present a united front since many of them possessed powerful radio interests embracing many important key stations. Despite this legal shackle, radio has plunged ahead with the result that it has practically extinguished the newspaper "extra." And under severe provocation the radio operators have even gone so far as to threaten to set up their own newsgathering organizations and thus enter into direct competition with the basic prop of newspaperdom. And the publishers have recognized the threat for the potent one it is, for in radio engineering today there are new and unique types of men geared to overcome the physically impossible, and possessed of a scientific vision of which the horizon has not yet been delineated. To sterilize radio competition, at least in part, the American Newspaper Publishers Association has initiated cooperation with the broadcasters resulting in the limitation of commentators to news already published and the formation of the Press Radio Bureau for authorized periodic broadcasts of spot news.

Broadcasting, however, is something more than a general communication service; it is at the same time a means of entertainment and education. Because of its unique economic foundation, complex administrative problems have been created. The station owners must not only satisfy the listening public but also the advertiser who pays the freight. And it must never be forgotten that these station owners use channels that belong to the public for purposes of private gain. Nothing can justify this situation but that the primary interest of all broadcasting be one of public service. That this is almost an unattainable goal is evident when one considers that in the majority of instances the interests of the listening public and the advertisers are antagonistic. There are many groups who definitely believe that such a liaison of public interest and private gain can never be successfully affected or maintained. Answering these critics, the commercial sponsors indicate that the past record should be given weighty consideration, inasmuch as their money has been directly responsible for radio's phenomenal growth and popularity. And at this point the third party in radio enters the picture—the Government.

Federal Intervention

By 1926 conditions had taken a bad turn. As one example, a Chicago station (WJAZ), owned by the Zenith Radio Corporation, which had received an assignment of two hours every Thursday evening on the same channel as a station in Denver, arbitrarily jumped to a Canadian exclusive channel and operated full time without authority. Immediately the Federal Government prosecuted the owner of the station under Section 1 of the Act of 1912, which forbade the operation of a station without a license issued by the Secretary of Commerce. Right here the first gun in the battle to divorce the Government from its radio property was fired inadvertently by the Court when a decision was handed down in favor of the company. When the Secretary referred the case to the Department of Justice, Acting Attorney General Donovan rendered an opinion to the effect that the Secretary of Commerce had no power to determine or restrict frequencies, power or hours of operation of a radio station; or even to limit the term of its license. Thus the situation was clarified. Regulation by the Federal Government was not only needed but mandatory if the public interest in radio was to be maintained.

The Radio Act of 1927 was passed by Congress on February 23 and became the statutory basis for the regulation of radio within the United States. The provisions of the law were so drastic and sweeping that American industry rubbed its eyes in amazement. Yet nothing short of this sever-

ity could have saved radio from plunging into chaos. In essence the law provided for the regulation of all forms of interstate and foreign radio communications and transmissions within the United States. The administration of the law was placed in the hands of a commission to be known as the Federal Radio Commission and composed of five members appointed by the President.

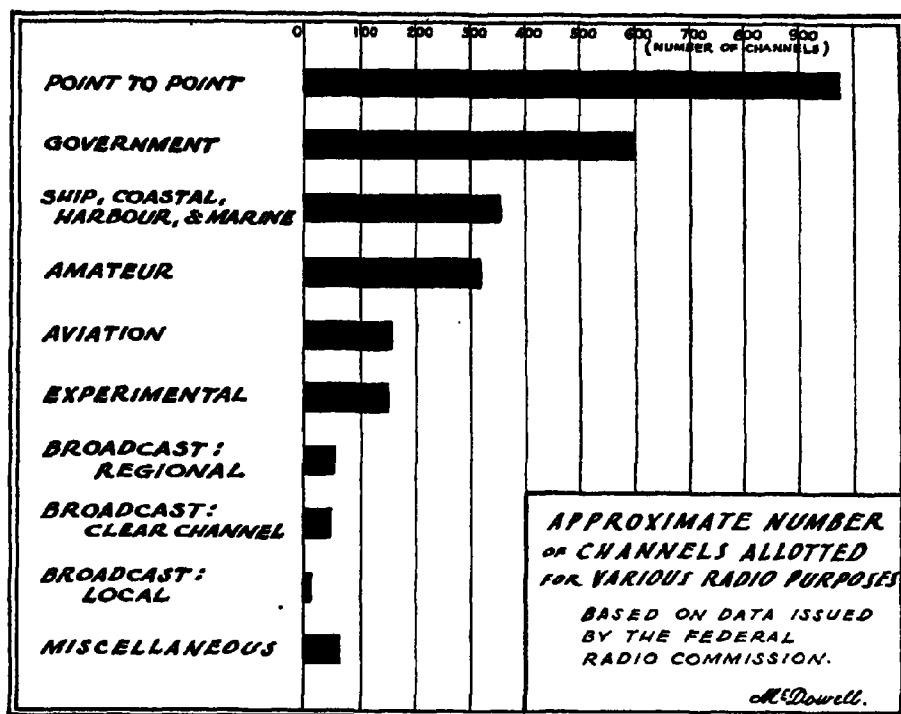
One of the most important features of the Act of 1927 was the limitation of license validity to three years for broadcasting stations and five years for any other classes of stations, a provision whose specific object was to provide more effective control over radio communication. It was thought that the power to grant licenses for a limited period would enable the regulating authority to eliminate undesirable broadcasters and at the same time keep a powerful weapon in their hands with which to insure the integrity of public service in radio. On this premise licenses were issued for a three-month period in 1928 for broadcasting stations with a one-year period for other stations. At present broadcasting licenses are issued for six months for broadcasting, with other licenses limited to one year. There are many objections, of course, to the limited license. The two principal ones being the power to censor through revocation of license or invalidation of license and the introduction of an element of uncertainty into radio communication by placing the security of the station owner's investment in the hands of a politically appointed Commission.

In practice the Commission was faced with two formidable problems: (1) the allocation of facilities to eliminate interference and to equitably distribute them throughout the United States; (2) the protection of public interest and convenience by applying rigorous standards to the qualifications of all applicants for facilities.

However, attaining this equitable distribution in the public interest was not so simple. Facing a system already in operation, the Commission had to abandon, in many cases, good engineering practice for economic considerations. As was anticipated, a rigid application of the Radio Act and its corollary, the Davis amendment, caused economic hardship, dissatisfaction and costly litigation. And it led to a more liberal construction of the Amendment in application.

Butt of the FCC

This was the situation in 1933 when President Roosevelt, shortly after taking office, directed the Secretary of Commerce to organize an inter-departmental Committee to make a study of the entire communication structure situation and to make adequate recommendations. As an example of the flaws in the administrative pattern the Federal Radio Commission situation was typical. Although it had the authority to license and to regulate operations, it had no jurisdiction over the rates and charges of radio-communication companies engaged in interstate and foreign communication. Out of the hearings and the voluminous documentary evidence was born the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which in scope is the most powerful regulatory body ever created by the Federal Government. Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission is restricted to interstate carriers, the 1934 Communications Act extended to all telecommunications.

As a unit empowered to deal with all telecommunication the Commission necessarily found that radio broadcasting supervision and regulation was, if still one of their most important interests, a subsidiary aspect of their broader function. On the whole the work they and the former Radio Commission have performed provides a sound basis of radio law and administration, without at the same time resolving controversial issues in telecommunications, many of which are at present haunting the Broadcast Division. Among these were the questions of how and to what extent broadcast facilities should be made available to non-commercial and especially educational broadcasts; regulation of the quantity and quality of advertising matter on programs;

and the censorship of programs. Actually these are problems concerned with and parts of the greater issue of public interest, convenience, and control of radio broadcasting.

Attempted solution of these problems has quite naturally been accompanied by a great deal of criticism justified and unjustified. Without at once pointing out the inadequacy of knowledge and understanding that many of the critics have brought to their job, nor condemning those interested parties who have deliberately set out to attack the Communications Commission in the hope of weakening its powers, it is necessary to examine the numerous complaints. Chiefly the charge is made that valuable channels of radio communication have been turned over to private corporations with the purpose of assisting them to commercial gain. These channels, it is claimed, would otherwise have been used for educational work, political instruction, and popular sociological instruction. To support their argument the proponents of education in radio invoke the power of the Communications Commission to further the social welfare of the nation by radio. And behind this sentiment has been organized a movement for the allocation of segregated channels for the specific work of these non-profit organizations.

Radio in Education

In 1932 the criticism of existing status of radio facilities became so widespread that the United States Senate adopted a resolution requiring the Commission to make a survey of commercial advertising and to report on some fifteen specific questions. One of the most important of these questions was answered by a report on just what recognition the Commission had given to educational institutions and whether or not they had been discriminated against in the interest of furthering commercial radio interests. The report as a whole was displeasing to many educational leaders pri-

marily interested in the cultural possibilities of broadcasting. From 1927 to 1932 the report showed that the Commission had granted radio-station licenses to 95 educational institutions, 51 classified as public and 44 as private. Of these stations 44 were in operation at the time of the report, 23 stations had voluntarily assigned their licenses to a person or corporation engaged in commercial enterprise, 18 had been voluntarily abandoned, and 10 had been liquidated for adequate cause. In only two cases had the Commission granted licenses to commercial stations for facilities applied for by educational interests. Concerning the amount of time commercial stations had given local educational institutions it was reported that 95 per cent of the stations had found educational institutions unwilling or unable to exploit all the time the commercial stations were willing to supply. On the basis of this report the Commission recommended that educational programs could be safely left to the voluntary gift of facilities by commercial companies.

The recommendation invoked a protest from the educational leaders who denounced the report as inadequate. Actually the report definitely established three facts long suspected: (1) that non-profit organizations, whether interested in popular education or culture, were financially unable to exploit the grant of important radio facilities; (2) that the caliber of programs whether for lack of material, amateurish talent or esoteric appeal discouraged rather than encouraged wide listening audiences; (3) that such non-profit organizations were so numerous as to present an almost unsolvable problem of selectivity in the granting of radio facilities.

Obviously, however, there is a need for broader facilities open to educational and cultural groups. But, it is claimed, nothing can be served at this time by allocating fixed proportions of broadcasting facilities to non-profit groups. Radio is too young, too full of potentialities, to freeze it at this time in any pattern that might prove injurious to future developments.

As the report demonstrated, many non-profit organizations had voluntarily abandoned their facilities either because of financial difficulties or inadequate programs. And at present it would be a gross waste of broadcasting facilities to allocate important channels to non-profit groups unless they were sufficiently endowed to exploit them. And these considerations do not touch the obvious fact that merely because a non-profit organization purports to disseminate culture and education it does not follow that such enterprise is in the public interest. Not even the educators can agree on what constitutes education in radio. But there is one situation, however, that unquestionably involves the non-profit broadcasters unjustly; and that is the high cost of defending their facilities against commercial applicants. Radio, like other businesses, is infested with legal ticks who make a plump livelihood by complicating normal situations. A certain element of radio lawyers are forever trying to compromise station's wave-lengths. To correct this situation the Commission has recommended that Congress provide for informal preliminary hearings on applicants who appear upon investigation to be hostile to established stations. Protected by such a provision licensees of existing stations would not be put in the future to the expense of defending their holding at hearings.

Limiting Commercial Announcements

The second charge leveled at the Commission and the one most popular with the masses is that advertising bilge is not decently restrained or deleted altogether from the commercially sponsored programs. This criticism is based on the most factual evidence running from advertisements objectionable to human sensibilities and injurious to health, to the advertisements of fakers offering to cure everything from heart burns to love pains. Greed of individuals and corporations has played the most important part in tarring the reputation of many station owners honestly concerned with effective efforts to control the quantity and quality of advertising

"plugs." A recent survey disclosed that more than 70 per cent of the operating stations strictly limit commercial announcement to a minor percentage of the total contracted time. For example, on full-hour night programs station owners limit commercial announcements to from 5 to 15 per cent of the total time.

Censorship, long a bugbear to speech whether free or libelous, is one of the most controversial issues in radio. Of course, if the people who turn the dial could be depended upon to exercise their prerogative then no such problem of censorship would exist. However, this is not the case. Primary responsibility for what is in the best public interest in broadcasting rests with the owners and operators of stations. Secondary responsibility rests with the Federal Communications Commission. But this secondary control is one which must be avoided. It would be entirely foreign to American conceptions. During the Presidential campaign of 1936 much loose talk was heard concerning the censorship exercised over the broadcasting service. Fortunately members of all political parties protested and thus cancelled out each other. However, there is one inconsistency in the present situation in need of correction, for although station owners may not censor the speeches of qualified candidates for public office, they are at the same time liable, in conjunction with the speaker, for libel and slander appearing in them.

But this, as any critic will admit, is not the whole story of radio and censorship. Innumerable instances are on record where stations on their own responsibility or at the behest of commercial advertisers have raped free speech and accuracy early and often. Copy submitted for approval has been deleted or distorted; speakers have been allocated inadequate time allowances when the content of their talk offended money interests; critics of the social order have been strangled in red tape; and most disheartening of all, stations have permitted irrational and irresponsible news commentators on sponsored programs to step to the microphone night after night and spew the air with innuendo, falsehood, and just plain misinformation. Invariably these public scolds have directed their attacks against governmental personages and governmental organizations utterly without defense not because of a lack of power but because of too much power.

Criticism of the Commission

Social critics have no basis for complaint, since it is foolish to expect the present rulers to engineer their own downfall by giving reformers and revolutionaries an opportunity to probe the septic sores of our society. If they must broadcast let them apply to the Commission and undergo examination for a license. Technically, station owners and operators are compelled by law to sell time to any one person or organization, provided that certain standards of decency and common sense are met. As a practical proposition it is surprising that this condition has prevailed to such a marked degree. But the public may be assured, at least at present, that in the licensing power of the Commission it possesses the weapon to force compliance to their changing tastes. A station owner who must apply for a new license every six months will not risk offending the public taste.

Since one of the favorite sports indoors and out is to charge graft, corruption, and monopoly without, of course, submitting proof, several charges against the Federal Communications Commission's handling of radio can be briefly considered. First the Commission is charged with fostering a monopoly. In 1931 the Federal Radio Commission reported that of a total of 434.19 broadcast units the stations used by the National Broadcasting Company represented 42.6 per cent, and those used by the Columbia Broadcasting System 26.3 per cent, or together 68.9 per cent of all facilities assigned to broadcasting stations. Of the 40 highly prized clear channels in the United States, only two were not used by these chains. This condition merely demonstrates that if people must have the best talent, which invariably is concen-

trated in large cities, then network broadcasting is the only feasible operation. Engineers with their love of perfection and efficiency, and annoyed at the political cavil flying through the air, stubbornly maintain logical reasons for integrated communications whether telephone, telegraph or radio. And the engineers are the ones who must combat the immutable laws of power which are less flexible than the laws governing the political intelligence.

A further charge leveled at the Commission is that the power to grant short term licenses has converted it into a brokerage house deliberately corrupt and up to its elbows in an active plot against the good American people. Certainly only a fool would deny that favoritism is extinct in the Commission, that there are not many radio operators who come and qualify for licenses as a means to speculative investment. Unwittingly, perhaps, those liberals who have directly attacked the short term licensing power of the Commission are playing into the hands of those station owners who desire nothing more than a more permanent hold on the allocated frequencies. And it is these interested parties who are carrying on an under cover attack on the Commission employing the abundant ammunition supplied by the political heads of the broadcast division, Chairman Eugene O. Sykes, Anning S. Prall, and Norman S. Case. As a case in point, the liberals denounce the fact that radio broadcast, representing a paltry $40,000,000 investment, returned in 1936 a gross revenue of $107,550,000. This they charge is an exorbitant return on capital; and no one will deny it. And yet what corrective is warranted? To attempt indiscriminate rate fixing at this time—a step which must one day be taken—is virtually impossible. No one, least of all the liberals, has been able to dogmatically ascribe a fair return to capital investment. Such a course leads into the maze of valuations of property, priority, maintenance, etc. Today radio is too young and tender for such a proper drubbing. The liberals must be vigilant, yes, but they must also have reasonable patience.

A Goal for Radio

As a whole, radio broadcast has not yet reached the stage in development where any specific dogma as to its use can be promulgated. Although it is a communication service of great potentialities it is also a medium of entertainment, recreation, and public education for 24,500,000 radio-set owners in the United States. As yet the logical goal as to the best use of broadcast facilities has not been delineated. Of course, there are many unsatisfactory conditions in need of correction. The broad language of radio censorship must be tightened and clarified.

At present there is a case before the Commission involving the C. I. O. and the Colonial network. In this instance the contemplated introductory announcement to a speech by John L. Lewis—later canceled and broadcast over independent stations—was written by the station owner and was alleged to have contained objectionable phraseology, inaccurate in part and prejudicial to the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. The announcement read: "The next hour has been engaged by the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. The opinions to be expressed during the period are those of the speaker and his organization. They do not reflect the opinion of this network, the management of which is definitely opposed to certain principles of the C. I. O., notably the sit-down strike."

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee characterized this statement as a violation of free speech and fair play, and a deliberate distortion of the principles of the C. I. O., which did not sponsor the sit-down strike. What disposal of this case will be made by the Commission is not yet known, though common sense indicates that future action must be taken to sterilize the opinions of radio station owners who, it must be remembered, are enjoying the privilege of making money out of an agency held solely in trust for the people.

STALIN'S PURGE: A WAR MEASURE

The Red Army is the latest victim of Russia's panicky house-cleaning

By EUGENE LYONS

TWENTY years after the revolution, and despite oceans of ink spilled to explain it, Russia is still an enigma to foreign observers. For a brief period the outside world thought it had discerned a consistent pattern in Soviet life—at any rate, different groups traced neat patterns for themselves and defended them as a true and final picture of the Soviet land. Then a series of melodramatic episodes exploded these certainties.

On the heels of "the world's most democratic constitution" has come an orgy of authoritarian violence that is gathering force as it proceeds. Fantastic demonstration trials, mass executions without trials, mysterious suicides of whilom leaders, a calculated nationwide spy scare, the disgrace of key figures in the Secret Service, the Red Army, the trade unions, and the ranks of orthodox literature—these and dozens of other strange events have left the world staring again in bewilderment.

A handful of know-nothing communist diehards and professional press agents for the Kremlin still hold tight to the crumbling vision of a "socialist" fatherland. A few embittered reactionaries at the extreme Right continue to attack Russia in the same old style under the misapprehension that they are still fighting a "communist" country. But the rest are frankly confused. Radical revolutionaries are wondering in so many words whether history has maneuvered them into defending the liquidation of the Russian revolution by the Kremlin. Liberals, increasingly skeptical about Stalin's curious brand of democracy and appalled by recent blood-letting, are poised for retreat from Moscow—witness the activities of a John Dewey, the writing of André Gide, the squirming of men like Waldo Frank and Malcolm Cowley, the shifting emphasis of journals like *The Manchester Guardian, The Nation* and *The New Republic.*

The only thing certain is that vast changes, perhaps cataclysmic, are taking place under the policed surface of Soviet life. The expunging of the earlier type of Bolshevism became manifest with the abolition of the Society of Old Bolsheviks three years ago; it reached a climax in the physical extermination of the remnants of the early Bolshevik leadership. One need only leaf through that amazing compendium of misinformation about Russia, the two-volume opus by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: a New Civilization?*, to realize how rapid has been the process of change. Though finished only in October, 1935, that work is now tragically obsolete—even the official pretenses and prevarications which it repeats have been abandoned; the whole governmental structure based on soviets has been discarded in favor of the Hitler-Mussolini type of one-party "democracy"; scarcely a trace is left of the concept of Communist Party membership as a semi-religious vocation to which the Webbs devoted hundreds of lyrical pages; the whole baggage of "advanced" ideas in family relations, art, social equality has been cast into the limbo of "counter-revolution."

The contrast between the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Trotsky and the Soviet Russia of Stalin is no less startling than the contrast between the France of Marat and the France of Napoleon. Attitudes toward Russia fixed by the early works and professions of the Bolshevik régime and maintained

doggedly through mental inertia and a sense of loyalty will inevitably be revised in the next few years. A complete reversal of rôles—with everything congenitally reactionary lined up on the side of the Stalinesque Russia and everything progressive and humanitarian lined up against it—seems to the writer altogether possible. Already radicals throughout the world are finding it harder to differentiate between the totalitarianism of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, though they seek desperately to save a little of their emotional investment of hope and fervor in Russia.

A war with Hitler in one camp and Stalin in the other would rally what remains of faith in the Russian revolution in the outside world, if only on the theory of choosing the lesser evil. The last World War gave us the ironical and almost obscene spectacle of Czarist absolutism aligned with France and England and later the United States in defense of democracy. The coming World War may duplicate that obscenity by aligning the new absolutism in Russia, the Stalin dictatorship, with the democratic nations. In the World War that irony was ended with the overthrow of the Czarist régime; democratic sentiment instantly flowed to the support of the Russian revolution. Should history repeat itself in the new war now in the making and the new absolutism also be overthrown by the Russian people, democratic and progressive sentiment may logically be expected once more to applaud the event.

The Fear of Insurrection

It is primarily the fear of insurrection at home in case of war which, in the writer's view, accounts for much in the Kremlin's immediate behavior that is otherwise unaccountable. The new Russian rulers are realists—indeed, they carry their realism to absurdly unrealistic lengths. They are hard-boiled, contemptuous of ideals and principles and humanistic "prejudices." They are the same people who liquidated five million so-called *kulaks* and punished the alleged insubordination of the forcibly collectivized farm regions with a famine that even a partisan of Stalin like Maurice Hindus now admits cost "at least three million lives." It may be assumed that they are keenly and uncomfortably aware that both Russian wars in the Twentieth Century ended in mass uprisings, in 1905 and 1917 —*and determined that the third war shall not end likewise.*

Wherefore the bloody erasure of all real or imagined sources of insurrection; the killing off of every dissenting communist who might conceivably provide a focal point for accumulated discontent; the reorganization of the Army, the trade unions, the Secret Service with a view to more effective control by the centralized state power.

The panicky slaughter of Old Bolsheviks, the jitters over spies and saboteurs, the arrests of Red Army leaders, are merely symptoms of the Soviet government's dread fear of the Russian masses. Meek as those masses may be, they have turned on their masters before and may turn again. War, diverting the energies of absolutism to meet foreign dangers, has in the past given those masses the courage to act. Moscow has always insisted that a foreign war can be turned into a civil war, and it is realistic enough to recognize that this applies to Russia no less than to other countries where discontent is rife.

The alarum about Trotskyism is therefore a convenient smokescreen behind which the work of exterminating actual or potential opposition proceeds with increasing vigor and thoroughness. Indeed, the existence of the Communist Party itself, though it has been reduced to an inert rubberstamp for the dictatorial machine, disquiets Stalin and his lieutenants. The Party still has a prestige with the populace and an atavistic social idealism which in a moment of stress might conceivably be turned against its leaders. Fantastic as the idea may sound, the liquidation of the Communist Party as a further guarantee against revolution is not out of the question; the liquidation of the revered Old Bolsheviks, as an organization and then as individuals, sounded equally fantastic before it hap-

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MAY DAY: 1937: "It calls for no special perspicacity to recognize that all is not smooth in the Red Army." This recent demonstration of Soviet military might was set against a background of flags which carried the slogan, in various translations, "Workers of the world, unite."

pened. The abolition of the Party may well come under the slogans of "democracy" and the "classless society"—the continued existence of a Party representing one class in a society where there are presumably no classes, of a dictatorial party under a democratic constitution, is an anachronism anyhow.

The most significant acts of the Kremlin in its self-defensive house-cleaning are in relation to its armed defense forces: the Red Army and the G.P.U. (the latter officially known now as the Commissariat for Internal Affairs). Because of the extreme secrecy with which everything pertaining to the Red Army is surrounded, it is particularly difficult to estimate the extent and importance of the changes here. But it calls for no special perspicacity to recognize that all is not smooth in the Red Army.

The world is so inured to sensations out of Russia that it has paid scant attention to the most sensational item of all. The Kremlin has decreed that two civilian overseers shall be placed by the side of every commander of a Red Army military district, forming a series of "military councils." Every order of the military leader must be confirmed by at least one of these civilians to become effective. The meaning of this move becomes apparent in the light of Soviet history:

In the first years of its life the Bolshevik régime was obliged to depend upon old-line Czarist generals and officers to command its newly formed Red Army. To guarantee the loyalty of these recruits from the enemy ranks, it placed a trusted civilian by the side of every military officer. These "political commissars," members of the Party, must countersign all orders and had authority to override the military heads. A system of dual command—technical and political, with the balance of power on the polit-

ical side—was thus developed, unique in the history of warfare. It was a makeshift of desperation: symbol almost of the fears and distrusts at the heart of the new government as it fought for survival on a score of scattered fronts with a raw, ill-equipped and disorganized army.

Now, in the twentieth year of the revolution, this makeshift has been revived! In effect the Soviet Government has thereby announced to its own people, its soldiers and the world at large that it does not trust the loyalty of its ranking Red Army commanders. It has been obliged to take measures to watch these military leaders, nearly all of whom are members of the Communist Party, just as it did in relation to Czarist generals enlisted in its service. Obviously it would not have taken this step except under the pressure of genuine fear.

The revival of political commissars in the Red Army is the more remarkable because the Kremlin has boasted so loudly about the loyalty of its armed forces, especially of the commanders. Nearly 90 per cent of the higher officers according to the latest figures, are enrolled in the Party. It is a cliché of communist propaganda that the Russian army is imbued with a special zeal absent in capitalist armies. A propagandist book published only recently, *The Soviets* by Albert Rhys Williams, devotes pages to this point, contrasting the proletarian patriotism of the Red soldier and officer with the sullen discontent of their Czarist predecessors and soldiers outside of Russia.

Common sense, of course, contradicts such panegyrics. An army of 1,500,000 conscripts in any country must of necessity reflect the feelings of the masses from which it is drawn. It would have been a miracle if the deep currents of popular unrest and scattered manifestations of organized opposition—things implicit in the frenzied blood purges now under way—had failed to penetrate the Red Army. It is still overwhelmingly a peasant army and even its workers are for the most part ex-peasants. When we recall that there is scarcely a peasant family in all of the U.S.S.R. which has not been hit by famine and liquidation in these seven or eight years, it becomes clear that the Army cannot remain immune to discontent and smoldering resentments. The enlargement of the Red Army in the last year, in fact, has served to dilute its loyalties and make it more representative of the sentiment of the Russian people as a whole.

Military Titles Restored

It was only recently that the Soviet Government restored old military ranks and titles in its army—everything but the hated title of General. It even gave itself a batch of "field-marshals." Already one of these marshals, Vice-Commissar of Defense I. B. Gamarnik, has committed suicide under charges of complicity in anti-Stalin intrigues. Another, Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, likewise a Vice-Commissar of Defense, has been condemned to death as a traitor; until a few months ago he was slated to be commander-in-chief on the whole Western front in the event of war. Sentenced to die together with Marshal Tukhachevsky were such outstanding military men as Jonah E. Yakir, the young Jewish general who was considered something of a prodigy; Robert P. Eideman, for many years the head of the civilian defense organization Osoaviakhim, with some six million members enrolled; the head of the Red Army War College (equivalent to our West Point), A. I. Kork; K. V. Putna, formerly the Soviet military attache in London; and generals Uborevich, Feldman and Primakov. These men were at the right hand of War Commissar Klementi Voroshilov, who in turn still stands at the right hand of Stalin. Disloyalty in such high places strikes too close to the heart of the whole Stalin dictatorship to be accepted lightly. Taken together with the revival of the "political commissars" system of supervising all important Red Army leaders, it bespeaks a most unhealthy condition.

There is no dearth of superb military material to replace the recalcitrants. Marshal Tukhachevsky has been replaced by Marshal Alexander Yegorov, a man of

peasant origin who rose to the rank of Colonel in the Czar's army during the war and then went over to the revolution. War Lord Voroshilov himself is regarded as a talented strategist and is extremely popular in the ranks. Marshal Simeon Budenny, the great cavalry leader, is a national hero of almost legendary magnitude and a man to inspire armies. Marshal Vassily Bluecher has given a good account of himself both in China, where (under the *nom de guerre* of General Galen) he guided the Kuomintang forces under Chang Kai-shek to victory, and as commander of the Soviet Far Eastern armies. Younger men by the score—in no way involved in the revolution and devoted only to the dictatorship which made their careers possible—have risen to leadership.

But the problem is much wider than individuals. The suicides and executions and measures to guard the political morals of high military men are symptomatic of a disturbed army morale. The gangrene that is eating into the flesh of the armed forces, now as under the Czars, is simply political tyranny. Having sowed the wind in its millionfold liquidations and man-made famines and other demonstrations of its tragically short-sighted "Bolshevik firmness," the Stalin régime must now protect itself against the gathering whirlwind.

The removal of Henry Yagoda as chief of the dictatorship's engine of terror, the G.P.U., is not an isolated phenomenon either. It is an intrinsic part of the larger purge in the trade unions, the Army, the Party ranks. Probably no man in this generation deserves retribution as richly as this Yagoda, as monstrous a creature as any Inquisition has produced. But he, too, was an Old Bolshevik, and he was surrounded by men whose activities, like his own, dated back to the earliest days of the revolution. They were "Chekists." The word "Chekist" conveys very little to the foreign mind, but for the Russians it is crowded with meaning and overtones.

The Cheka, predecessor of the G.P.U., was the revolution's unsheathed sword, the instrument of the Red Terror. For all its history of horror, the Chekist tradition is a heroic one. In perverted form it is the tradition of the revolution at its most intransigent and self-sacrificing and, curious as the word seems in this connotation, idealistic. It was born and nurtured at a moment when the communist idea was not a cynical formula but a perfervid faith, at a moment when revolution on a world-wide scale was not a Trotskyist heresy but an axiom of Bolshevik thinking. The continuity of that Chekist tradition, after twenty years, is truly remarkable. The writer met many men in Moscow who still live in the atmosphere of blood and iron and fanatic brutality of their Chekist past.

For the Chekist who survived into the Stalin era loyalty to the revolution as such, loyalty to the Bolshevik ideals of the Torquemada of the revolution, Felix Dzherzhinsky, might easily outweigh devotion to Stalin and the new bureaucracy in a period of strain. The elimination of Yagoda and Prokofiev and hundreds if not thousands of other Chekists—their substitution by younger men without personal memory or pyschological allegiances to the Bolshevik revolution, men whose careers stem directly from Stalin—is parallel with the purge that is eliminating the last of the active leaders of the Bolshevik seizure of power. It brings the engine of terror more completely under the control of the new post-revolutionary leadership with Stalin at its head.

Thus in every department of its life, the Soviet dictatorship is removing the left-overs of the original revolution and fortifying itself on the new ground. If war comes, it will confront the foreign foe as a "monolithic" state, in which every surface symptom of opposition has been removed. Whether genuine national unity can be achieved by terror, and how long the unity would last in a protracted and costly war or in the face of military reverses, history will tell.

MEN DO NOT LIKE WAR

It's difficult enough to recruit them and harder still to make them killers

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

SOME people insist that war is inevitable because "men like war." They contend that at bottom man is not only a venturesome and combative animal but a potential killer. In normal times, according to the reasoning of the psychologists and philosophers who subscribe to this view, man's killer instinct is held in check by various social forces, by the weight of morality and law; but let the "moral lid" be ripped off and his innate desire to murder will rise automatically to the surface. Since this is an inherent and ineradicable trait in the human soul, the theory runs, man will always fight and kill, given the chance, and therefore we shall always have war.

If tested by the established principles of psychology, this facile explanation for the "inevitability" of war might be found seriously wanting. Its weaknesses would become still more apparent if it were put to the test in the light of the hard facts of human experience. But war itself offers, of course, the severest and at the same time the fairest test of this theory. What has happened when organized society has given full sanction to murder? What has happened when men have been not only permitted but compelled to go out and kill in the name of their governments? In time of war, with all moral restraints swept aside, do men rush to volunteer for military service in order to give vent to their supposedly inborn lust for blood? Not for a moment. Governments everywhere and in all ages have found it difficult enough to obtain enough soldiers even for the purpose of defending the "national honor" or the country's territory. One has only to read the military "experts," Clausewitz, Upton and others, to learn with what complete disdain the professional soldier holds the fighting qualities of the average man. According to these professional killers, it takes a good deal more than war, a good deal more than the mere brushing aside of moral restraints, to make a willing murderer out of the average man. To attain that end man must be trained in the art over an extended period, as in any other profession or trade.

But before he is trained he must first be caught. And the catching of men for service on the battlefield has for centuries been a nightmare of military commanders. A Bryan might believe that "a million men will spring to arms overnight" if the country is endangered, but the generals will tell you that the volunteer system is wholly unreliable and that only by compulsory military service can enough "potential murderers" be rounded up to give the country the army the generals believe it ought to have in time of war. These military men have faith in conscription alone. Nor need one turn to the old Roman levies, or to the draft system of Napoleon, or to the use of conscription in modern Europe, or to the fact that England even today, though another European war seems imminent, cannot find enough volunteers for its army, or to any non-American source for evidence of man's reluctance to offer himself voluntarily for service in war. One has only to consider American history.

Revolutionary Experience

It might have been supposed that in the American Revolution, when the colonies were attempting to overthrow a military tyrant and to secure democratic self-rule for themselves, every last man among the

patriotic colonists would have been ready to lay down his life for this holy cause. Yet Washington and his fellow rebel leaders had the devil's own time in keeping enough troops on hand to meet the Hessian mercenaries. Men had to be cajoled and shamed into serving with the Continental Army or with the various militia units. They had to be bribed, to be paid increasingly generous bounties as the war dragged on. At the end of 1779, to quote Ganoe, "although Congress had offered $200 to a recruit to enlist for the period of the war, and one of the States had reached $750, a suit of clothes once a year, and 100 acres of land, Washington's force scarcely totaled 26,000 effectives."

Washington himself declared at the beginning of the rebellion that there existed an "egregious want of public spirit." "Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country," he said, "which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time." At another time he complained of the "great numbers of soldiers and non-commissioned officers who absent themselves from duty." One of his general officers, Schuyler, repeatedly told of the "ill humor" among the volunteers and of his own "unstable authority over troops of different colonies." "Nothing," he said, "can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides."

Bounties were increased, the bribes offered prospective soldiers were enlarged, and still not enough volunteers were to be had. Desertions, too, had meanwhile become alarmingly numerous. Washington was constrained to report that "many soldiers, lately enlisted in the Continental Army, not content with the generous bounties and encouragements granted to them by Congress, but influenced by a base regard to their own interests, have reenlisted with, and received bounties from, other officers and then deserted." Commenting on this situation years later, General Upton declared: "While the patriotism of a people, taken collectively, is quite equal to

From the etching "Brothers," by Fritz Eichenberg

keeping up a prolonged struggle for liberty, cost what it may, we find that the patriotism of the individual utterly fails to induce him to undergo, voluntarily, the hardships and dangers of war."

This aspect of the Revolution was repeated in the War of 1812. Again bounties had to be paid in generous measure. Each recruit was offered in 1813, over and above his normal bounty, a cash payment of $24, three months' pay in advance and 160 acres of land, while officers were paid $4 a head for each recruit they procured. And again the volunteers balked at the military hardships and risks.

A striking example of the war-like spirit of the average man turned up in the following year when the city of Washington, the nation's capital, was threatened by a British force. The threat was perceived as early as July 4. Orders were sent out on that day to "hold in readiness for immediate service a corps of 93,500 men." General Winder, who was in command of the Tenth Military District, which embraced Washington, had no illusions as to the number of men who would respond. He suggested to the Secretary of War that it would be "advisable to call for the largest number directed by the

President" on the supposition that thereby "we might possibly get the lowest" number of men needed for the defense of the capital. It seems that as many as 15,000 militia and volunteers were counted upon to join in the defense. But on August 23, the day before Bladensburg, the army that had been mustered for this purpose consisted of only 1,400 regulars (400 horse, 400 infantry, and 600 marines) and 1,800 militia. On the day of the battle a brigade of 2,200 untrained militia was rushed over from Baltimore to take part in the futile fighting.

In the Mexican War the militia forces gave a slightly better account of themselves. But of volunteers for service with the regular army in Mexico there were very few indeed. The enlisted strength of the army had been increased by law from 7,580 to 17,020. But after six months of fighting its actual strength had been brought by enlistment to only 10,690 officers and men. The Secretary of War felt that "as long as volunteers are expected to be called for it will be difficult to fill the ranks of the regular regiments unless additional inducements are offered or the terms of service modified. A small pecuniary bounty given at the time of enlistment, or land at the end of the term of service, would, it is believed, have a most beneficial effect." So bounties were again forthcoming. Still there was no great rush to enlist, and further inducements were held out.

Lincoln's Volunteers

Lincoln's call to defend the Union in 1861 brought out a surprising number of volunteers—the only time that that has occurred in the country's history. It was not that every able-bodied citizen hastened to respond to the appeal of Father Abraham. Indeed, only one in eight of the eligible male citizens yielded to that patriotic urge which the "inevitabilists" call the brute or combative instinct. Nevertheless, even this proportion of volunteers was so high and so unexpected that the military men were agreeably astounded. Upton, for instance, mentioned "the amazing fact" that "*without compulsion* 1,356,593 citizens had already assumed the character of soldiers." (Actually the total was somewhat smaller, for this figure included a number of reenlistments.)

Yet these volunteers as well had to be lured on to the field of battle. Some were given an extra month's pay and a bounty of $25 to boot. Others drew down a straight cash payment of $50. Still others were granted $100 each for enlisting for a period of three years. This was not enough. Deaths and desertions continued to deplete the Union ranks. In July, 1863, Lincoln called for another 100,000 militia, but only 16,631 responded. About this time it was decided that only compulsory service—conscription—would overcome the scruples that American manhood had with regard to killing and dying on the battlefield. The first draft brought out only 35,782 men, "of whom at least 26,000 were substitutes." Men who could afford to do so bought their way out of military service rather than take advantage of this rare opportunity to give free rein to the killer instinct within them, while other men hired themselves out as conscripts, not for the love of fighting, nor yet for the sake of patriotism (they still had every chance to enlist of their own volition had they so desired), but wholly for monetary gain.

As such things go, the War with Spain was hardly more than a diversion, an outing for the kind of men in whom the brute instinct still survives as a fairly positive force. Relatively few killers were needed for this war (though in some respects it turned out to be one of the bloodiest conflicts in modern history). This being so, the American Government had comparatively little difficulty in obtaining the men it required to send against the much overrated "Spanish butcher." Even so, Congress decided that it would be wise to offer something in the way of a special inducement. It raised the war pay of the soldier by 20 per cent in order to attract volunteers.

Recruiting for the "Holiest War"

In the great crusade for democracy, which was probably the "holiest" war man-

kind has seen since the religious wars of the Middle Ages, the theory that men will instinctively fight at the drop of the "moral lid" was put to a supreme test. Never in American history had so many righteous and resoundingly moral reasons been adduced for unbridled mass slaughter. In his War Message the President declared that the Prussian challenge was a challenge "to all mankind." He said that "the wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life." He denounced the "criminal intrigues" of the German Government and called upon the American people to undertake "armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck." "It is a fearful thing," he said, "to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, *civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.*" (Emphasis as in original.)

The "experts" under George Creel embroidered this theme in the most lurid and blood-curdling fashion. They published "scientific" evidence designed to show beyond all dispute that the Huns were the most abominable of beasts, the most vicious of fiends, that they had concocted the war for the sole purpose of spreading their damnable militarism and hellish autocracy over the entire world. By the "Prussian gospel," the American people were told, "not merely is war inevitably 'hell,' but it is to be made deliberately the lowest stratum of hell, and the means of rendering it such are to be worked out with scientific precision." And once "Prussianized Germany" had triumphed in Europe it would find occasion "to strike down America in its isolation." Thus, the manhood of America was called upon to do battle, not only for American democracy and liberty, not only for all of those values which the American people supposedly hold so precious, but also for the concept of universal freedom and democracy, for civilization itself. Never had any such stirring appeal been addressed to the martial spirit with which every man is presumed to be endowed. Never had any such tremendous effort been made to arouse the fighting animal within man.

And what happened? Patriotism burst forth everywhere. "Spies" were rounded up. German ships were interned. University authorities cancelled their athletic schedules for the duration of the war. "In New York," to quote Millis, "the great mansions of the captains of industry and finance in upper Fifth Avenue were observed to be patriotically displaying the Stars and Stripes." Elsewhere crowds collected "before National Guard armories as if vaguely expecting something." There were other and similar signs of a nation astir. But there was no maddening rush of patriots to the recruiting stations. Within a few months a few hundred thousand volunteers—out of more than twenty million eligible males—did present themselves for war service, and of these at least forty thousand offered themselves as candidates for commissions rather than for service in the front-line trenches.

The generals saw at once that volunteers could not be depended upon to fight this war. They promptly set to work on plans for conscription—or "selective service," if you please—and had these plans ready and even in operation before Congress enacted the draft law on May 18. The military men, wise with their decades of experience, knew better than to take any chances on the validity of the theory that man needs only to have certain moral restraints removed in order to make him an eager and spontaneous killer.

In the next war there will be no voluntary enlistments at all. Service with the military forces will be wholly compulsory. The General Staff has ready for automatic introduction and enactment by Congress, on the day that the war begins, a bill setting up an air-tight and iron-bound "selective service" system from which no man, moral or immoral, civilized or savage, can hope to escape.

It would seem, then, that American men, far from really enjoying war, have had

from the earliest days of the republic to be wheedled, cajoled, propagandized, shamed, bribed, and finally driven into fighting. Even when service has been compulsory they have contrived various means of evading the patriotic duty of fighting and killing. (At least 400,000 Americans successfully dodged the draft in 1917–8.) Moreover, as military men universally recognize, the mere process of getting a man into uniform and putting a rifle and bayonet into his hands does not make a killer out of him. That is but the beginning.

I still vividly remember the sergeant at Quantico who at bayonet drill kept repeating over and over: "You gotta learn to hate 'em. Stick 'em in the guts, the dirty Heinies. They'll stick you. They'll rip your bellies open. They hate your guts. Kill 'em. Stick 'em in the guts, the dirty Heinies. You gotta learn to hate 'em." A month or two later, when our company got to France, a lieutenant by the name of Murphy, a hard-faced individual with protruding jaw and slanting forehead, appeared one day in the role of lecturer. It was immediately apparent that his real task was to work us up into an emotional rage against the Germans. He began rather suavely, even gently, by intimating that we might do well to practice on one another. He advised us to "be hard-boiled, get tough." He would say: "If anybody tells you it's a fine day, you tell 'em, 'sure, it's a fine day for a murder.'" From these mild suggestions he worked toward his climax by declaring: "Remember, you fellows, you've got to kill men. That's what you're here for, to kill men. This ain't no picnic. We're tough. We're killers. What in hell did you enlist for?"

At the time this education in brutality seemed silly to me. I had the curious notion that the drill sergeant and the lieutenant were more or less on their own, that they were merely parading their sadism before us as an emotional escape for themselves. Later, in comparing notes with members of other companies, I found that they were being similarly educated. And upon my return to civil life I discovered, in perusing the writings and studies of various military authorities, that this sort of "education" was considered an indispensable part of the soldier's training.

Arlington B. Conway, one of these students who served on the staff of a Canadian brigade in the European war, quoted Kipling as having said: "You must employ either blackguards or gentlemen, or best of all, blackguards commanded by gentlemen, to do butcher's work with efficiency and despatch." Conway added:

> The demonstrations of Colonel R. B. Campbell, Director of Bayonet Fighting for the British Army, were very instructive. He would take a platoon of sheepish-looking, poorly-developed youths, and, by the exercise of his extraordinary persuasion, rapidly strip away the coverings of civilization from them, and turn them into fighting animals, eyes glaring, teeth bared, trembling, hating. He did not yell, or rant. He talked rapidly, evenly, in a low, confidential, compelling tone. "That's where the liver is, if he runs away. . . . Two inches of steel, no more. . . . And mind you get the right place. . . . He's a dirty, greasy German waiter. . . . You've often seen him scraping the dishes. . . . He's raped your sister. . . . Don't give him a chance. . . . In the throat . . . right there . . . two inches . . . A-a-a-h-h-. . . ." At the word the boys charged down on the row of stuffed sacks, stabbing madly but not blindly. As they lunged together the yell went up. . . . "A-a-a-h-h . . ." a snarling, bestial sound that struck at the jelly of the spine.

Later Conway wrote that "if troops can be stimulated to rage, it is no longer necessary to worry about their anxiety to close with the enemy." But, he said, "the difficulty is to work them up to the requisite heat." For a time the British army added propaganda to its bayonet drill as a means of developing ferocity. "Little questionnaires were given to the men in the trenches, which inquired, 'Do I take every opportunity to harass the enemy? . . . How many Huns have I killed today? . . . Am I as offensive as I might be? . . . .' etc. But the men for the most part only laughed at

it, and at the brass hats who originated the scheme."

In other words, the military men know only too well that man is not a natural killer. They are fully aware that a vast majority of men have to be "educated" in murder just as men in civil life have to be educated as plumbers or doctors or army officers. They have not only to be taught discipline in order that they might respond in unison to orders and move with machine-like precision on the field of slaughter, but to instil fear and hatred, a mad lust for blood, in them. This is, after all, one of the main purposes of military training. In discussing the first battle of Bull Run, Upton attributed the Union rout to lax discipline and training. A majority of the men retreated en masse at the first indication of death. "The Union loss in killed and wounded," Upton said, "was 1,492, or but 5 per cent of the total force engaged. The same regiments after a year's discipline would have scorned to retire with a loss of less than 30 to 50 per cent." So it is "discipline," i.e., military training, and not any inherent human trait that makes man an accomplished and intentional murderer.

Indeed, the chief criticism that military men have always made of the military policy of the United States is that it does not provide for enough thoroughly trained soldiers who can be called upon in time of war. From Washington's time to the present the generals have ceaselessly argued that civilians cannot fight when pressed into service, that it is quite impossible to turn a raw recruit into a competent and spontaneous killer overnight.

One thing more need be said about the theory here under discussion. This hypothesis rests primarily upon the equally untenable supposition that it is man in general who makes war, that the choice between peace and war lies with the people at large and not with a relatively few individuals. If this were true and the theory of the "inevitabilists" were valid, then the frequency of war could be rather simply explained. But it is not true. The people have no voice in the matter. The decision, in the United States as in other modern imperialist countries, lies wholly and invariably with the handful of men who control the political and economic destinies of the nation. It might be said that they at least are moved by a lust for power and glory that is akin to the uninhibited warrior's supposed lust for gore and glory. That may be true in some cases, but here again we would have men who are the exceptions that prove the rule. Moreover, it is neither lust nor ambition but far more often impersonal economic and political forces, or sometimes just plain stupidity and bungling, that plunge nations into war.

But, however wars may originate, they do not rise from any popular craving for death, from any psychopathic defect in humankind. Wars are certainly not fought because "men like war," for the available factual evidence points in overwhelming measure to the conclusion that men do not like war.

ILLEGITIMACY IN GERMANY

The Nazi "children-body-kitchen" slogan speeds the production of cannon-fodder

By WALTER BROCKMAN

NAZI Germany in its repopulation aspect presents the picture of a vast incubator. It is kept at the required temperature by a hot-air apparatus designed by the Ministry of the Interior and operated by the Department of Eugenics with a staff of engineers whose duty it is to see that the supply never runs out and the air never cools. What emerges from this modern breeding machine is the Nordic hero and the future bearer of the Nordic hero. Before we go into the methods by which this super-human being is being achieved, let us record the fact that, to begin with, the incubator is turning out probably the biggest and bumpingest crop of illegitimate babies ever produced.

We leave it to the reader to draw such conclusions as his individual social views dictate from the picture of the Third Reich today, with its repeated assurances that it has made the Western World safe for the institutions of civilized society, and the methods by which its population is being increased. We have yet to learn, for instance, that that "immoral" communism, from which we have all been saved through the heroic bulwark thrown up by Hitler's Germany against its inroads, has anything to show so inconsistent with any social program at all as the evangel of "children at any price." And it is very hard for any but the Nazi mind to reconcile the conception of "Hearth and Home," so sanctimoniously glorified by Hitler and other revivalists, with the present state of affairs in this regard. It may be doubted whether the lax morals which these reformers tell us were one of the most reprehensible of all the evils of democracy they exterminated, had anything to put beside such conditions as the following paragraphs give but a faint impression.

Though for obvious reasons, statistics on this subject are not yet made available, we yet may risk a bow of recognition to the truly staggering efficiency with which the baby advocates have carried out their job; and though, perhaps, the rest of the world might look upon the deluge of new citizens a little askance, one must admit that these people at least have done the thing up brown.

Meanwhile, much innocent fun is to be got out of the ever-growing literature, in which the illegitimate child and the unwed mother are being "hallowed and protected." So far as the Government is outwardly concerned in the express upbuilding of this innovation in the social order, we find ourselves on familiar Nazi ground; that is to say, no official voice has said anything as positive or as courageous, for instance, as that there shall be no more distinction between legitimate and illegitimate Germans, or that every woman providing one more hero for the Fatherland has done as honorable and complete a job as any other, so that the circumstance of being wed or unwed has nothing to do with it. But the word was given out, and the departments are morally and no doubt financially supported, as well as the newspapers and periodicals approved, through which this propaganda "educates" the people.

The source of all these things, however, the Fuehrer and his ministers, refuse both their names and outward declaration of policy in order that when the pinch comes, they will be able to issue words to the effect that "every evil in a country cannot be outrooted in a single day," and "we must be

given time to eradicate all the social abuses which our predecessors left us heir to."

The "Inalienable Right"

That this pinch shows signs of coming is already faintly indicated; but it has not yet become acute. The situation goes on merrily until the usual pressure from abroad, or from very powerful quarters at home, will bring about those loud repudiations and changes of front which we have seen so many times already. And when those responsible do come out with these declarations, you may be sure that it will have been forgotten that as early as a few months after the Nazis had come to power, articles began to appear in the chief women's magazines circulating among the housewives of the lower middle classes, shop girls, maid servants and such throughout the country, launching a regular crusade for babies in and out of wedlock. Not expressed as honestly or as crudely as this, but more in the following manner, culled from a series of articles in the most widely read women's paper in Germany. This series had the more weight for proceeding from the pen of a woman doctor who addressed herself to her readers with all the passionate devotion to the cause of woman and the fundamental rights of every woman:

> "It is the sacred duty and the inalienable right of every woman to have children. . . . The insistence upon this right and action in accordance with it, is the highest social duty of the woman citizen of our country . . . you are all responsible for breaking down the propaganda carried on against your rights by the misgovernment which your Fuehrer has saved you from. . . . Only women under Marxist influence would stop like cowards to think who will look after the children they put into the world. . . . Did the Teutonic woman ever think of things like these? No. She went ahead and did her duty to herself by giving heroes to her race. . . . The German woman of today shall do the same. . . . We have had enough of cowardice and so-called conscientiousness, which was only a cloak for slacking."

This is but one example of countless utterances in the same strain. If things show signs of having got a little out of control, it is now too late for protest.

In all the Reich there is no group more cagey than the doctors. You have to be cunning to lure them into answering even the most innocent questions; but the more intrepid of them can be got to risk an occasional answer as to facts, though never an opinion. At least we learn that the maternity wards in all the country's public hospitals are overcrowded. A high percentage of the patients are 15 years old or thereabouts, already launched on that career of motherhood which, as Adolf Hitler taught the leaders and the teachers who taught them, is the only justification for female existence upon earth.

In Berlin some time ago, a conference on the truly alarming spread of child-motherhood was held; nothing was done about it then, and meanwhile it has grown much worse.

Shocks to Parents

The most prolific hot-beds for this fungous crop are those two Nazi innovations, the *Landjahr* (year's compulsory work on farms) and the *Arbeitsdienst* (labor service). Under the Hitler régime all the working and potential working girls of Germany between their school-leaving age and the age of 25, in order to continue or become eligible for employment, must prove one year's work on a farm.

The ostensible reason for this is the same one as demands from the future professors of higher mathematics—a complementary education in the cardinal Nazi tenet of "Brotherhood," which is implanted by living on that earth which they are "one with," and working at the "eternal, dignifying labors of the earth, side by side with their brethren of the soil."

You have to be on to the new German language to get the real meaning of all these words, and the *Landjahr* and *Arbeitsdienst* workers are learning it rapidly by practical experience. And so are their parents:

"Dear Mother: I am expecting a baby. So are three other girls here."

European

***LABOR SERVICE:** German girls dine under a "Joy through Work" slogan at one of the labor camps which have produced such unexpected results.*

This was the unembroidered tidings sent home on an open postcard by a 15-year-old girl at a woman's labor camp. The writer saw it with his own eyes. Mothers not yet sufficiently aware that they are living in a brand new Germany are apt to heap old-fashioned reproaches upon such an authoress. It is taking a little while for the elders wholly to grasp the new creed as formulated in the child-mother's question, "Why, don't you know Der Fuehrer says that Germany needs children?"

Of course, within a few years these mothers of today will have become the still youthful grandmothers of tomorrow, not subject to the jars and shocks that their parents still are suffering. In the meantime, we can well imagine the despair of one still medieval woman who voluntarily sent off all three young daughters to the *Landjahr* in the touching belief that she was doing her patriotic bit—only to have all three come back expectant mothers.

These conditions have been going on now, however, for long enough to awaken certain doubts and opposition in some people's minds. The horror and indignation with which many parents saw how all the lovely ideas worked out, has led to widespread protests. One community in Mecklenburg managed to put a stop to housing youthful members of both sexes not only in the same camp but under the same roof in a building with sleeping quarters opening on a common corridor.

A few of the fathers and mothers have won in their absolute determination not to let their daughters go away either to farm or to labor camps, though not many. This is no less true in the case of some of the prospective victims of the population-mongers. In a certain insurance company the girls, faced with the alternative of doing their *Landjahr* or losing their jobs, voted unanimously for the latter. This is no light decision in Germany today, where going

home and staying home means poverty. And even if, as unemployed, they are still eligible after this refusal to receive the dole, they will find in the first place the maximum dole is infinitesimal, and in the second place, more and more classes of people are being excluded from it.

One working-class father, whose daughter returned with the familiar story that she had been attacked by her farmer employer with the usual result, wrote a fiery letter both to the Propaganda Ministry and to that department of the Ministry of Interior which is pushing the population campaign. He is still waiting for an answer.

The victims of male violence down on the farm need look for neither sympathy nor help from public welfare departments, which are alleged to have in hand the "protection and care of women," among other things. One girl, applying at such a place for advice because she was unable to bring herself to tell her story at home, was given the following consoling reply: "Violated! Don't come to us with that. Or do you expect us to believe it? Seduced, that's what you were, like all the rest of them. And why not?"

The education in the ideals of reproduction, together with the state protection accorded to all fathers, implicit in this teaching, has brought about the result which might have been expected. As a result, the responsible guardians of the people's weal are pulling in their horns and retiring into their several shells according to their now time-honored habits. And since the Nazi Government does not yet see its way to infant extermination on a large scale, something else must now be done to stop this deliberate and self-inflicted deluge. In other branches of human activity this would be slightly more easy to achieve than in the sex-branch.

The administrators of Germany are becoming past-masters in the art of the Nazi rhumba. This dance, as we have indicated before, consists of one step forward, two bounds back, *volte face*, and finally, if called for, that curious prostration known as playing dead. This interesting, if singular, choreographic creation is Germany's successor to the goose-step. The Hitler ballet may be seen performing Figure 2 in the following semi-official warning and declaration lately issued by the Race Politics Department of the government: "Whoever proclaims marriage and the family to be reactionary and elements of the liberalistic epoch, is guilty either of misunderstanding or of conscious treason against the most sacred institution of our people. . . . With the overwhelming majority of illegitimate children at the present moment, there can be no 'improving a vitiated race.' "

Opposition

The immediate cause of this indignant outburst was an article published in the official organ of one of the country's leading industries, which circulates among hundreds of thousands of workers engaged in this key trade. It was entitled *A Frank Word in Support of the Unmarried Mother*, and said the things that one can easily imagine would be said in this connection. It concluded with a sentence that "illegitimate children as a rule, because they are love children, are racially far superior to those who come into the world as a result of delirium of senses, of mere habit, or of moral defectiveness."

Perhaps even more attractive than this idea, which sounds extremely like Herr Rosenberg, is one contained in another gem, to wit: "We are overturning outworn prejudices and have set ourselves to clear the way for the healthy Aryan human being. The marriage vows should not be allowed to be an obstacle to the fulfilling of the natural urge . . ." But this natural urge, however intriguing, is apt to put a heavy burden on the national cash-box, and the indulgent shepherds of a lusty flock are already finding that a halt must be called somewhere.

It is no secret that the Catholic church, at all times and in all countries, has had a vital interest in encouraging large families. It has even on occasion, notably in the United States, where there is so much

mixed marriage, made grave concessions in order to secure the children for its fold. This is a right and honorable policy, and has been consistently pursued from the beginning. Perhaps nothing, therefore, could show more strikingly what proportions promiscuous child-bearing has reached in Hitler's Reich since its inauguration, than the following protest of Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, the Archbishop of the East German Diocese. From an article in a Nazi paper which circulates among the country population of Silesia, he cites the following "principle": "To the farmer, marriage means heirs and nothing else. He therefore looks upon it as obvious to have intimate intercourse with his prospective wife before the civil and church marriage. If it transpires that this intercourse leads to nothing, then according to the farmer's way of thinking, the thing is useless—indeed harmful, and it would be even immoral to let it come to marriage at all."

The Cardinal points out that at the present moment there is every evidence that this "principle" is being put into increasing effect. He turns with wrath against this further debasing of the country's moral standard, which was low enough to begin with. It is obvious throughout all his words that the Cardinal realizes, though unable to say so outright, that if any curb is to be put upon the switch-back rapidity with which the German "Hearth and Home" is being degraded into a stable, it can no longer be hoped for from any secular source. He realizes that the last chance for a wholesome moral outlook among the simple folk of Germany must come from the priesthood. And in the Third Reich, where the grimmest war is being waged to dispossess the priesthood of all creeds of all its influence, the chance looks very slight indeed.

Thus *Kinder* remains the most important K of the *Kinder-Koerper-Kueche* (children-body-kitchen) slogan devised by the Nazis for their women folk, a slightly modified version of the Kaiser's, which, as will be recalled, employed *Kirche* (church) instead of *Koerper*.

The rustic image it contains is the one prescribed for the employees of the organization for the propagating of More Children-Mindedness throughout the German population. This is conducted to a large extent by means of house-to-house canvassing. The canvassers are women, most of them district nurses in the service of the Public Welfare Department. They are taught in the rehearsal of their sales-talks to "enter a house with the ideal before your mind of a model pig-sty where a prize sow has just produced a blue-ribbon litter."

Among the women of the West, the German woman has always been regarded as the symbol of subordination; after goings on like the above, it is hardly necessary to comment on the depth of her present level—all because Der Fuehrer must have his cannon-fodder.

With the Spanish Anarchists

Some revealing and colorful anecdotes of an important side of Spanish life

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

WHEN first I knew him he was an employee in a printing and dyeing establishment which formed part of the extensive Catalan textile industry. Being an ardent Anarcho-Syndicalist and somewhat of an intellectual, he put in his spare time addressing public meetings, writing pamphlets and articles for the proletarian press, studying in a library. Having mastered French, he was sometimes called to Paris to address an audience there.

But now Alfonso de Miguel was a "war delegate" in an Anarchist army. If the army had recognized such titles as majors, colonels, and generals, he would no doubt be one of the generals. He was one of the mainstays of the general staff at Valencia, particularly charged with responsibility for the campaign for the capture of Teruel, some 96 miles to the north, where a commanderless army known as the Columna de Hierro—the Iron Column—was entrenched in the mountains that close crescent-like about the city. De Miguel now had at his disposal a luxurious and spacious Pierce-Arrow, said to be the finest in Valencia—and also a chauffeur.

"Come with me to Teruel," de Miguel invited one day. And thus it was that I was able to penetrate into a little known and almost forbidden war zone. For several days I lived among Anarchists and their militiamen, partook of their hospitality, heard their talk, and informed myself of how Anarchists felt and thought in these stressful moments. I also took note of what had been transpiring in this Anarchist zone during several months of civil war. This message will attempt a faithful account of some of the facts of this venture.

Before setting out on the journey it may be well to give a brief note about the Spanish type of anarchy. Anarcho-Syndicalism it is most suitably called because of its tie-up with the labor syndicates. The Anarchist organization proper is the F.A.I. (*Federación Anarquistica Ibérica*). It is sponsor for the system of labor syndicates known as the C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional de Trabajo*, or National Work Confederation). The F.A.I. has as its function the general propagation of Anarchist doctrine, while the C.N.T., with the aid of the F.A.I., gets what it wants for the workers and moves constantly toward its ultimate objective, the capture and control of industry by "the producers"—themselves.

Spanish anarchy made its appearance in the land before socialism and long before communism, which explains the deep hold it has on the masses. It dates from 1868 when Michel Bakounine, father of anarchy, sent a co-worker, J. Fanelli, into Spain there to create nuclei of the Spanish International Federation, inculcating the doctrine of "collectivist" and "free" anarchy as opposed to the authoritarianism of Marxism, which finds its ultimate expression in the Russian super-state. The Spanish Anarchists claim to have moulded themselves constantly to the realities, discarding all that is purely theoretical. They now call the social system they espouse "*communismo libertario*" or liberating communism, the principal idea being that the freely established local commune is the source of power and has the first and last word. They find this to be a negation of the idea of the state, to which they are opposed. The economics of production and distribution is a paramount factor in the Anarcho-Syndicalist system, being the matter to which

the syndicates address themselves principally.

There are many workers like Alfonso de Miguel, engaged in the propagation of anarchy. Smug persons frequently pointed to his kind as proof that the workers had nothing about which to grumble. Being counted as skilled labor he earned 12 pesetas (then about $1.66) a day, or at best 312 pesetas a month. For a day's pay one could buy about two pounds of beef or of cheese or a little more than two pounds of butter. Even "well-paid labor" ate little of such things. It would require the last centimo of a month's pay to live for a month in a modest pension. But "well-paid" laborers had their wives and children and so had to manage in other ways.

To the Front

The Levante sun was pouring out its brightness and heat as we left Valencia, running a gamut of barricades made of cobblestones, of sacks filled with sand, of cotton bales, of barrels of tar, of what-not, sentinels frequently halting us demanding the countersign. Manuel, our chauffeur, a good-natured and hearty militiaman who wore an enormous, new model sub-machine gun in a wooden holster, was given to overaweing the peasant sentinels with *bromas* or ready jokes.

A quick 11 miles through orange groves laden with green fruit brought us to Segunto where we turned inland passing by the ruins of the brawny old Segunto castle perched on a hill. Country life went on peacefully notwithstanding the war. But there were fewer men in the fields; the traffic was sparse and intermingled with the lorries and motor cars of militiamen. At a spot where the low-hanging vines were all too inviting we stopped and plucked grapes, figs, quinces. Valencian hospitality has always considered the passerby to be entitled to as much fruit as he could garner and eat.

We arrived at Segorbe with its burned cathedral and churches, their muted organs and silenced bells, whose brass has been melted for the making of cannon and shell. I remembered entering a burned church, near Valencia, where workmen were tearing the organ apart, breaking up its tubes and stacking them in boxes to be sent away to the munitions factory. And here through gaping portals I saw, as in many another village and town, the charred débris of statues and altars. Why all this fury, one asks; why all this destruction? To the destroyers their handiwork is not insensate, for it represents the obliteration of an institution they hate. The real question, which can only be met in a calm and realistic spirit, is, "Why all this hatred?" On the outskirts of Segorbe a "pastor", as shepherds here are called, and his flock impeded our way. He was the only pastor here whose flocks still followed him.

We then entered territory once occupied by the insurgents, reaching Sarrión, converted into a hospital base and where, I was told, money had been abolished and pure *communismo libertario* implanted. In this matter of accepting pure communism, or a version of it, the municipalities and the areas they control have the fullest liberty, in conformity with the theory that the new social system must not be imposed from above but must be freely accepted by the people.

The Treachery of Valverde

La Puebla de Valverde was the last outpost in the direction of Teruel and a place where revolutionary history was made. Here the Iron Column, with its first aid hospitals and its cookeries, was based. In the center of the town was a huge romanesque church, built like a fortress and seemingly all out of proportion to this poor little village. Indeed, it could well swallow several of its houses. Now it was completely burned out, with walls and vaults fallen in. I questioned the villagers about their attitude toward the church, about their priests. It was the same sad story so frequently repeated. The priests were accused of being political bosses; of having too great a sense of acquisitiveness; of being in league with the wealthy exploiters of the people; of immorality and abuses.

Plainly all bonds of confidence and sympathy between pastor and flock were broken.

It was in this town that the Socialist deputy, Francisco Casas Sala, a colonel of carabineros, and 63 militiamen were murdered by the civil guard acting in treacherous combination with the rebels. The story has become classic in Spanish revolutionary lore, as "The Treachery of Valverde." The Civil Guard, feigning themselves to be loyal, had come up here with an unarmed militia column which they promised to arm upon arrival at the front. Instead they turned and fired point blank upon the militiamen while they were peacefully resting and lunching in the plaza. Sixteen were killed outright, others wounded or captured, while some escaped. Those who were captured were taken next day to the cemetery and there executed *en masse*. As the story had been widely published by the Spanish press I was anxious to check on it, as providing a clue to the probable veracity of similar stories. I found it not only true in its main reported details but in some respects understated. Witnesses and participants of the tragedy told me their stories at first hand and showed me the places whereon it transpired, the blood still caked in the ground.

J. Juan, Valencia

JOINING THE IRON COLUMN: A militiaman who deserted the rebel ranks at Teruel.

La Comarada Maria

We had arrived at Valverde about noon, somewhat hungry. This provided the cue for *La Comarada Maria* to bring her talents into play. Maria Eguinoa was the woman war delegate of our party. True to the traditions of her sex, she had kept us waiting more than half an hour at the outset. Slender, in her forties, and of sandy hair, she was; and also philosopher, peacemaker, and direct actionist. At the outbreak of the revolution she had taken charge of an orphan asylum at Valencia and immediately started mothering the children. She attempted to put into practice, among the staff, the anarchist doctrine of complete equality as between comrade and comrade. Among other things she established the "*comida unica*," or single dining standard, meaning that professional staff and servants all ate together of the same food. While everybody agreed that it was a magnificent idea, the teachers and other members of the upper strata did not like it in their hearts and plotted to procure her removal as directress, on the pretext that she had no teacher's certificate and was consequently unqualified for her job. And so this little experiment in unadulterated anarchistic equality was wrecked on the rocks of an innate human consciousness of caste. *La Comarada Maria* now set about procuring the wherewithal for a meal for our party. The meal over, we continued on our journey toward the front.

The militiamen dressed in varied uniforms to suit their fancies. They wore blue overalls and jackets; the whole or the half

of regulation army uniforms; working clothes with belts and straps to give them a martial appearance; many red kerchiefs about the necks; natty militia caps ending in a slight peak fore and aft, which were now much the vogue, or, if they chose, broad-brimmed straw or felt hats and other most un-uniform headgear. They were a well fed, bright-eyed, amiable lot. Many of them had grown black chinbeards and side-burns which had now become quite *la moda*. A group of them invited me into their dugout and there we held forth in discourse about many things. Through the sight-holes we could see the rebel dugouts on the opposite hill, across a gully.

The next day, at dawn, we explored another part of the line. The rebels are evidently poor marksmen, and the militiamen have learned to laugh at their *cañonazos*. Later, we found they had sent that morning about 16 shells toward an encampment, only three exploding. One smashed the unoccupied part of a dugout and wounded a man slightly in the leg. Part of this camp was spread across the railway which came up from Valencia, going to Saragossa. This was the end of rail communication. Several bridges between this point and Teruel had been blown up by the rebels. At one of the bridges an enemy machine gun was constantly sputtering. "That gun is manned by a priest," said a militiaman recently escaped from the enemy.

Squads, platoons, companies and similar military units were abolished here. The squad is replaced by the group, composed of 10 men who choose their own leader, or delegate. Ten groups form a *centuria*, which likewise has its delegate or *jefe*, and an undetermined number of *centurias*, which might well be 20 or even more, form a column. The column has some characteristic name, such as this present Iron Column, but the *centurias* are numbered. The groups, on the other hand, again have quite characteristic names, some of them rather fantastic, according to the whims or caprices of the members. No doubt they are a factor in inspiring *esprit de corps*.

"We are the Sea Wolves and there are three groups of us," told a befurzed and weather-beaten militiaman whom you immediately pictured as belonging in a seaman's oilskins. His 29 fellow Sea Wolves, he explained, all abandoned their nets to take up fighting. There were a multitude of other names, some of persons or personalities, others suggestive of the qualities of the components. I found the Ship Builders, for instance, and the Eagles, the Tigers, and the Black Group. Also the Negus Group. In the Black Group I found Pete Catala, long a resident of New York and other American cities, who spoke first-rate American.

This left flank of the Iron Column had had no leader ever since Rafael Martí, better known by the sobriquet of Pancho Villa, was killed. Martí was shot in a treacherous way by a rebel captain. The militiamen had advanced and captured a hill where a number of rebels were caught in a trap. According to José Miranda Rubio, a militiaman who was one of the witnesses to what happened: "A group of the enemy held up their hands and came toward us shouting 'Brothers! Brothers!' Pancho Villa threw down his rifle and went forward to embrace their leader, whom we saw was a captain. He thought they wanted to join with us. He shouted '*Viva la anarquia!*' and threw his arms around the captain. Then the captain shouted '*Viva Cristo Rey!*' ['Long live Christ the King'!], took Pancho's pistol from its holster, stepped backward, and shot him dead."

I later found from various witnesses, of whom I refrained from asking leading questions, ample corroboration of this story which, moreover, is now well known.

That night, in the kitchen of a peasant family, by the flicker of the fire of an open hearth, we sat at a rough table of hewn boards, over a meal of olive oil, bread, garlic, and hot water, together with a *paella* of chicken and rice. Our party and others of their comrades talked long into the night.

An Evening with the Anarchists

Of what do Anarchists talk? Of food and clothing for the militiamen; of party

morale; of war plans and strategy. They lamented the conduct of a *comarada*—one of their best known woman orators—who did not behave quite anarchistically in a hotel in Madrid a few days previously, when she insisted upon eating paid fare apart from the common crowd, whose company and food were not to her liking, thus in practice belying the equality she preached. When war plans were broached someone urged caution. "I am absolutely sure of everyone here," spoke *La Comarada Maria*. And the talk went on unrestrained.

Maria swerved the conversation around to her theory of rationalism, the philosophy taught by Francisco Ferrer, founder of the Modern School, who was court-martialed and shot at Barcelona after the "Tragic Week" of 1909. The occult forces which are believed to have inspired his execution help to explain some of the popular odium against religion and the army. She directed her explanations particularly to three other members of our party, Gruff Ramon Benet, who also had come from France to help fight the Fascists; the somewhat somber and vigilant Juan Barbillo; and Grego Bondia, a Catalan whose name meant Gregory Good Day.

Racionalismo

"Rationalism," *La Comarada* expounded, "teaches men who are bitter against each other about unimportant things that they must reason matters out and that then they will see how senseless are their quarrels. For it will be plain to them that each one may be a little right and a little wrong. I always try to make men see that when they are quarreling. Once in the trenches I tried to make peace between two angry men, but one became so furious with me that he hit me. Then he realized what an evil thing he had done and how right had been my reasoning. Those men decided never to quarrel again and now they are the best of friends.

"There was another time when I saw a civil guard about to torture a prisoner. I said to him: 'Do not torture him. Listen to your own heart, to the man who is beneath your uniform. Let the prisoner come and talk to me. I will make him tell the truth.' And it happened the way I said. I met the same civil guard some years later; he recognized me and thanked me and said that thereafter he had always listened to his heart."

There had been hard words that night between Manuel and some other members of the party because he had wanted to be shooting off his new machine gun up there in the trenches; to waste time looking in a field for a shell that had exploded near him the last time he was here: had wanted to do many other things for no other reason than that he had just wanted to do them. Since supper he had been sulking in a café, but now he came in. I left the party, retiring to my bed in a peasant's home across the road.

The next morning the atmosphere had changed. There existed cordiality and mutual respect between Manuel and the rest. I could not help but feel that during my absence *La Comarada Maria* had again been trying out her *racionalismo*.

Macaulay on Spain

"There is no country in Europe which is so easy to over-run as Spain: there is no country in Europe which it is more difficult to conquer. . . . Her armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs: but her mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities: but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. . . . War in Spain has, from the days of the Romans, had a character of its own: it is a fire which cannot be raked out; it burns fiercely under the embers; and long after it has in all seeming been extinguished, bursts forth more violently than ever."

—*From Macaulay's Essay upon "The War of Succession in Spain"* (1702–1713).

Quoted from the *World Review*

INSTRUCTIONS TO ITALIAN PRESS

THE *Italian anti-Fascist paper,* Giustizia e Liberta *secured these instructions covering the period January 5 to May 10. "More delicate" orders are given orally to prevent "leakages." That explains the absence from the instructions of all mention of the Italian defeat on the Guadalajara front in Spain.*

JANUARY 5—Do not criticize Turkey even if she lets through Russian and Spanish warships with supplies for the Spanish Government party. . . .

JANUARY 7—Do not concern yourselves with the German attitude to naval movements in the Mediterranean.

JANUARY 11—Do not reproduce the Rome correspondence of the "Christian Science Monitor" on the popularity of Minister Ciano.

Never attack Switzerland, and publish no news which might be disagreeable to her Government.

JANUARY 16—Give no news of the bombardments of inhabited centres by the Spanish "Nationalists," and above all deny that it is done by Italian or German aviators.

JANUARY 19—Do not reproduce the United Press report of the "arrest" by the "Reds" of an Italian merchant ship in Spanish waters.

JANUARY 25—Complete silence on the fact that the Hungarian Chief of Military Staff has been in Milan.

Disinterest yourself completely from the Fascist movement in Switzerland.

JANUARY 29—Do not reproduce the telegrams of Signor Starace on the occasion of ordinary sporting events. . . .

FEBRUARY 2—Without giving a formal denial refer in speaking of the Pope's illness to the fact that the news of the forthcoming arrival of an English doctor is false. . . .

FEBRUARY 9—Do not describe the military situation of the Spanish "Reds" as disastrous. Be less optimistic.

FEBRUARY 10—Suppress entirely the news of the acquisition of Spanish boats by the Garibaldi co-operative.

FEBRUARY 17—Do not give any news of

(1) The coming of Dr. Schuschnigg to Italy;
(2) His forthcoming marriage with a society lady;
(3) His dissolution of the Austrian Fascist Party.

FEBRUARY 20—Begin and continue a strong campaign against Czecho-Slovakia.

Absolute silence on the date fixed for ending the dispatch of volunteers to Spain.

FEBRUARY 26—Insist on the eventuality of Eden's leaving the Foreign Office. Have sent from London news of Eden's dismissal.

MARCH 5—Do not reproduce facts about the metal reserves of the Bank of Italy published in the French papers. Suppress entirely news of the arrival at Naples of wounded volunteers coming from Spain and transported by our hospital ships.

Make an end once for all of the stories of children running away from home to see the Duce at Rome.

MARCH 7—Do not publish the news that the *Rex* was surprised by a terrible storm between Gibraltar and the Azores, which resulted in one dead and several wounded. . . .

MARCH 17—Emphasize and give the greatest importance to the communiqué of the Government at Salamanca as to the eventual cession of Spanish Morocco by the Valencia Government to England and France.

Be sure not to give the impression that there is a suspension of military activity in Spain.

Be careful how you give the news about the girl who made an attempt on the life of M. Chambrun and who in the past frequented certain military quarters in Rome. . . .

APRIL 7—Dilate upon the Yagoda episode in Soviet Russia, and play up the supremacy and immorality of the adventurer Stalin. . . .

APRIL 14—Reproduce and amplify the news of the Stefani Agency about how desirable it would be to burn the contagious quarters of London unworthy of a civilized age. Add that Edward, if he had continued to reign, would have provided for it. . . .

APRIL 18—Go carefully about the conflict between the Vatican and Germany and stay neutral. In any case, incline to the side of Germany but without ever reproducing news about the trials of priests accused of immorality with which the German press is full.

MAY 6—It is absolutely forbidden to publish any articles or make any reference whatever to the British Government; limit yourselves purely to Stefani.

Emphasize the news about the big crowd at Rome for tomorrow's review.

MAY 10—Stress any unfortunate incident that may happen during the Coronation celebrations; disparage the importance of the political conversations in London.

MEXICO'S MELTING-POT

The Government seeks to rehabilitate unassimilated, diverse native groups

By MAURICE HALPERIN

AMERICA has been described as the great melting-pot of modern times. This is essentially true, not only of our own United States but of most of the countries which lie to the south of us. Perhaps in none has the fusion of races and cultures produced a civilization so thoroughly blended and so distinctly national in texture as in our own country. Yet, in a very real sense, there is little in either our racial or cultural ancestry that is genuinely American.

Mexico, by way of contrast, is primarily a nation of Americans. The blood of the copper-tan aborigine runs thick in the veins of its inhabitants. Few among that five per cent of the native population which is commonly classified as of "pure" Spanish extraction can account for the racial origins of their grandparents with anything like certainty; and rare indeed are those who can be sure of their great-grandparents' ethnic characteristics.

Unlike the English settlers, to whom the only good Indian was a dead Indian, the Spanish *conquistadores*, despite the violence that accompanied their invasion, from the very beginning mated with the daughters of the vanquished natives. This process gave rise, during the colonial period, to the formation of a complicated caste system based on the various degrees of racial mixture, at the top of which stood the ever dwindling *criollo*, the aristocrat of undiluted Spanish strain.

Independence from Spain did away with the caste system, and though it brought little real economic or social change for the great mass of Mexicans, it removed the last barrier of racial discrimination and tacitly recognized what three centuries of intermarriage had already accomplished—the fact that Indian Mexico had become largely a nation of mixed-breeds or *mestizos*. Biologically speaking, this amalgamation of native and European blood has little practical significance, that is, as far as either anthropologist or geneticist can tell, but it represents an important cultural phenomenon—the emergence of a uniquely blended set of social institutions and habits.

Mexico's Indo-Hispanic melting-pot, however, has functioned with much less efficiency than our own. The English colonists brought with them the seeds of a modern and dynamic social, economic, and political organization. In the North American wilderness these seeds sprouted with considerable ease, since the vast continental area was sparsely populated, and then only with tribal hunting groups who were both numerically and culturally too weak to withstand the onslaught of the newcomers.

The Spanish conquerors, on the other hand, transplanted a relatively static feudal civilization to a thickly populated land whose inhabitants probably outnumbered the present Mexican population of eighteen million. Then again, despite the periodic and often far-flung domination of powerful nations like the Mayas and the Aztecs, Mexico at the time of the Conquest represented a veritable maze of ethnic groups living at appreciably different cultural levels, each with its own language, customs, and social organization. In several instances, native civilization had already reached a point where it had much in common with the feudal institutions imposed upon them by the Spaniards. Climatic and topographic conditions also encouraged the survival of cultural diversity and isolation.

Thus both history and geography, it would seem, conspired to make Mexico a country of more or less self-contained, change-resisting folk communities.

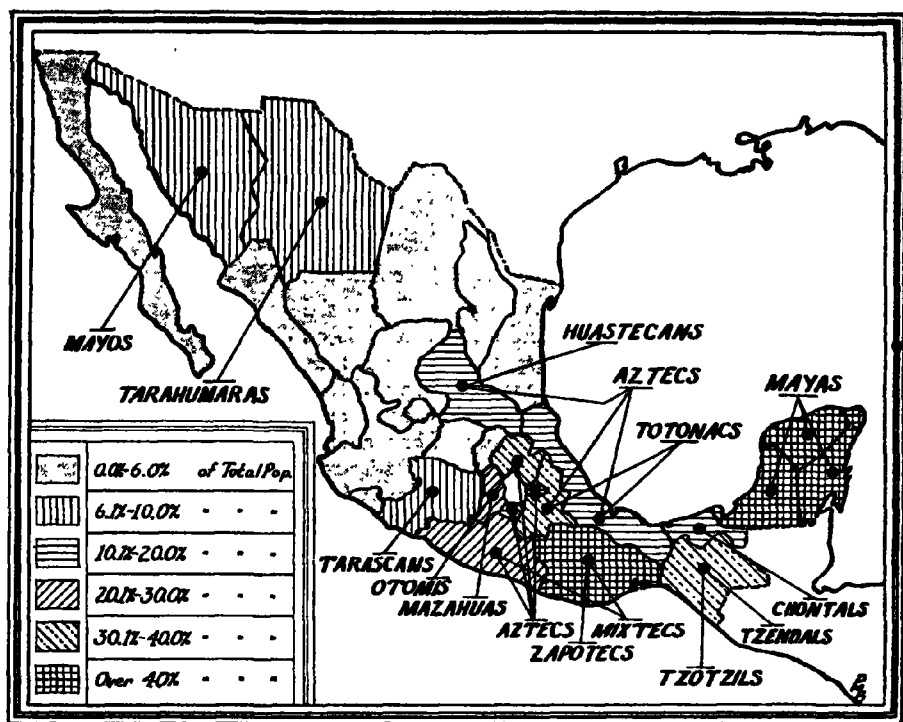
If we realize that until very recently those forces which make for uniformity and a well-knit national culture failed to develop in Mexico, then it is not surprising to find the country still liberally spotted with communities and even large tribal groups which, for all practical purposes, must be classified as maintaining their ancestral Indian, rather than an Indo-Hispanic, mode of life. For the anthropologist, these Indians constitute a valuable scientific laboratory, while the repressed cliff-dwellers of Park Avenue and the Bronx, unacquainted with the realities of primitive life, are apt to grow sentimental about any effort to disturb their "idyllic" existence. To the Mexican Government, however, striving to eradicate disease and hunger, to raise the material standards of living of the whole nation, and to transform it from a poverty-ridden, illiterate, semi-feudal country to a modern, unified state, these unassimilated indigenous lumps in the national melting-pot present a serious and urgent problem.

Diversity of Cultures

A conservative estimate would put the total Indian population in Mexico at some four million. This is based on the census of 1930 which attempted to set down the number of people still speaking Indian tongues. Of these, more than half know no Spanish whatsoever, while the others, technically bilingual, in reality have only the barest smattering of Spanish. The presence of a living native language is perhaps the most significant indication of isolation from national life, and hence of the survival of a practically pure Indian culture. Physical characteristics, though they usually coincide with linguistic and other cultural traits, are not always a reliable gage. Blue-eyed Indians have a distressing way of cropping up in the most remote aboriginal villages.

The linguistic map of Mexico indicates that some 65 indigenous tongues, belonging to 13 major language families, are today in common use by as many Indian tribes. Eighty per cent of the Indians speak dialects belonging to four of the major language groups. These are, in the order of their importance: *Nahuatlana*, spoken principally by the descendants of the Aztecs now living in south-central portions of the republic; *Mixteco-Zapotecana*, chiefly used by the Mixtecs and Zapotecs over a wide southern and south-western area; *Maya-Quicheana*, the language of the Mayas in the Yucatan peninsula and of other lesser tribes in Tabasco and Chiapas; *Otomiana*, spoken mainly by the Otomis in Hidalgo and other central states. In the greater part of the Yucatan and Oaxaca, and in significant portions of Hidalgo, Puebla, Chiapas and Guerrero, Indians make up a majority of the population.

Many of the smaller Indian groups, like the tiny communities of Lacandones, buried in the jungles of Chiapas, or the more numerous Tarahumaras, locked in the mountain fastness of Chihuahua, are so far removed from the centers of the nation's economic life that at the present time, their isolation is still not a matter of immediate concern. It is the larger bodies, situated close to productive regions and the crossroads of commerce, forming veritable nations within nations, which obstruct Mexican progress and unity and create serious problems for which the Government is actively seeking a solution.

Take the Otomis as an example. A scant hundred miles north of Mexico City, in the state of Hidalgo, the great Pan-American highway skirts the edges of sleepy Ixmiquilpan. This pleasant little town, with its massive church, quiet market-place, and patches of bright green verdure is the gateway to the bleak, arid Mezquital valley where some twelve thousand Otomi Indians live. Two hundred years ago, a small area on the outskirts of town had been irrigated, creating fertile lands which were immediately appropriated by *criollos* and which later fell into the hands of *mestizos* and foreigners. The rest of the valley, deemed without value, was left to the Otomis.

Don Aurelio, cheerful and slightly corpulent *mestizo*, sat beside me as we drove east over the rough trail that leads into the center of the valley. As we lurched over the trail, the valley seemed to be uninhabited; but stopping now and then to look closely, one could detect what amounted to dwellings scattered a half-mile or so apart.

About three miles out, we finally drew up before a two-hut enclosure, partly fenced by organ cactus and prickly vines. Don Aurelio, who was both guide and interpreter, stepped forward and peered over the fence. "Ah-shah-whoo-áh, tee-shah-deé," he began in the nasal, sing-song tones of the Otomi language, meaning "good-day, and how are you?" A long conversation followed in which Don Aurelio did most of the talking, but after several minutes we were permitted to enter. Our hosts were not exactly inhospitable, but very timid and bashful.

Their establishment was strictly home made. More than that, all of its materials grew wild in the immediate vicinity. The walls of both huts were made of prickly desert vines bound with maguey fibre. The limbs of the mezquite tree served as cross-beams, while the dried leaves of the wild palm furnished thatch for the roof. Not so much as a single nail, to mention only an elementary product of western civilization, was used in the construction of these shacks.

The smaller one, a combination kitchen and granary, was built around a short, thick multi-branched *garambullo* tree beneath which an open fire slowly burned. The tree served as a vent for the fire, but smoke nevertheless settled thickly in the hut. Mezquite pods and *nopal*, tender young cactus leaves, were cooking in earthenware pots. Close by, a woman was grinding corn on a flat stone slab. The other hut served as sleeping quarters. Straw mats stretched on the bare ground took the

place of beds. In one corner stood a barrel half full of fermenting *pulque*, whitish juice of the ever provident maguey plant. A few strands of raw wool hanging from a rack completed the furnishings of the hut. The only signs of post-Columbian culture on the entire premises were the barrel, a shovel, the inevitable discarded oil can, and a few tin plates.

Our Otomi hosts were small, thin, childlike creatures whose round, dull-bronze faces contracted sharply at the chin. They were dressed in a medley of rags and tatters, and were distinctly dirty; they undoubtedly had little choice in this matter since the scarcity of water made cleanliness impossible. A 25-year-old woman, suckling a tiny infant, seemed aged and worn out. On the whole, the family, though undernourished, was in fairly good health, since there is plenty of sunshine and the valley is some six thousand feet above sea level. Nevertheless, they are in constant danger of contracting typhoid fever, typhus, and intestinal diseases.

This household is one of the more "prosperous" in the Mezquital. Instead of the usual two acres it owns four, and engages in "agriculture" as well as "industry." Every three or four years there might be enough rain to produce a meager crop of corn; this is the extent of its "agriculture." The family's chief economic activity is the preparation and spinning of maguey fibre. The *lechugilla*, a small maguey that grows wild, is the source of this fibre. The tough leaf is pounded and scraped until the fibre is exposed and separated. The latter is set out to dry in the sun, and then it is spun into a coarse thread by means of small prehistoric spindles. The whole family assists in this duty, which consumes every spare minute of men, women, and children alike.

This task is not performed for pleasure or to while away time, as one may imagine upon meeting a group of Otomis. With the product of his spinning, the Otomi weaves *ayate*, a rough gauze-like cloth that resembles burlap in texture. A small portion of the *ayate* he uses to make shawls, belts and sacks for family use, but most of it he has to sell at the weekly market held in Ixmiquilpan in order to buy his mite of corn, beans, and on rare occasions, a wooden barrel or a few yards of cotton goods. Only by dint of constant work by every member of the family can sufficient food be secured to keep body and soul together.

The Indians' Plight

The social and intellectual life of the Otomis is on the same drab level as their economic activity. Without beasts of burden and the simplest of civilized tools, the Otomi Indian works fourteen to sixteen hours a day the year round to provide himself with rudimentary shelter and the most meager food. Disease-carrying *pulque* is both the source of his recreation and of life-sustaining vitamins, sugar and alcohol, which no other element of his diet provides. What at a distance may appear to the romantic dreamer as a community of "nature's children" enjoying "happiness" and "freedom" turns out to be, on closer contact, an unfortunate people living in dull stupor and enslaved by an inhospitable nature.

While the Otomis of the Mezquital valley live under special difficulties imposed by the arid region they inhabit, their plight on the whole serves to illustrate that of Mexico's Indian population in general. Approximately 40 per cent of that population live under nearly similar climatic conditions. Others lead an even more precarious existence in the biting cold of the sierras, while still others, favored with the more abundant food of the hot lands, are chronic victims of malaria and more violent tropical pestilence.

During the nineteenth century, the methods employed to bring the Indian within the scope of national life were chiefly those of subjugation by conquest or utter extermination. Thus the Mayas of the Yucatan and Quintana Roo were finally conquered and forced to toil on the henequen plantations, while thousands were sold into slavery in Cuba. In the Eighties, during

the Díaz dictatorship, the brave Yaquis of Sonora, led by their great chief Cajeme, were almost exterminated after a long and fierce struggle. Their fertile lands were seized, and most of what remained of their tribe was scattered over the country. Many of them were transported to the Yucatan, where they succumbed to tropical disease and the brutal treatment of the henequen landlords.

After the 1910–1920 revolution, a new consciousness of Mexico's Indian heritage, coupled with a humanitarian urge to help the indigenous population, brought about a marked change in Indian policy. The necessity of educating the Indian was generally recognized. However, because of lack of means and a clear understanding of the problems involved, little was actually accomplished. During the course of several years, a few hundred Indian boys were brought to Mexico City and placed in a special Indian Boarding School. They learned rapidly and well, proving what scientists already knew—that the Indian is thoroughly capable of assimilating modern culture if given an opportunity. Nevertheless, when sent back to their tribes to serve as teachers, they invariably found it impossible to remain. They had become accustomed to sleeping in beds and washing their teeth, and they had learned scientific farming methods. Both the new habits and the new methods could not be successfully introduced without careful agronomic and social preparation.

New Deal for the Natives

Profiting by former errors, the present Mexican Government is determined to approach the problem of educating the Indian in a realistic fashion. It does not consider this as a charitable undertaking, but as a necessary task for the sake of the country as a whole, since it can never achieve a high cultural and productive level so long as a significant minority remains in a primitive, pre-Conquest state of civilization. At best, however, the incorporation of the Indian will be a slow task because education alone without economic rehabilitation will result in failure.

While plans for education have not yet become crystallized, the new tendency clearly points in the direction of practical, utilitarian instruction based on the psychclogy, habits, and living conditions of the Indians themselves. To aid educators, a whole corps of experts from the National University—ethnologists, biologists, sociologists, linguists, economists and bacteriologists—are at the present time making a minute study of the Mezquital inhabitants, their culture and environment.

Thus a new civilization will not be thrust upon them suddenly and unwillingly. Their confidence must first be gained, and centuries of suspicion and mistrust cannot be wiped out in a day. Schools must be provided for them, but also the necessary time to attend them. Instruction must first be given in the Otomi language, not only because it is the only language they know, but because they would refuse to learn Spanish if forced to. For this purpose a training school in the Otomi language has already been set up at Ixmiquilpan, while the National University at Mexico City plans to create a new Institute of Indian Linguistics during the present year. Finally, the level of instruction must be coordinated at every stage with the changing economic and cultural level of the Indian.

The general tenor of this program appears to be sound. To work out the details and then to execute them efficiently and intelligently on a wide scale will tax both the ingenuity and the financial resources of the Government. If this were the sole or even the chief social problem which a rejuvenated Mexico now faces, its solution would not be half so difficult. Nevertheless, the importance of assimilating the Indian is now fully realized. It may turn out to be a more arduous process than even the Government's cautious Department of Indian Affairs imagines, but certainly the fire beneath the Mexican melting-pot burns more brightly now than ever before.

OUR SCORE IN TRADE

America's balance sheet in foreign commerce points to a bright outlook for the future

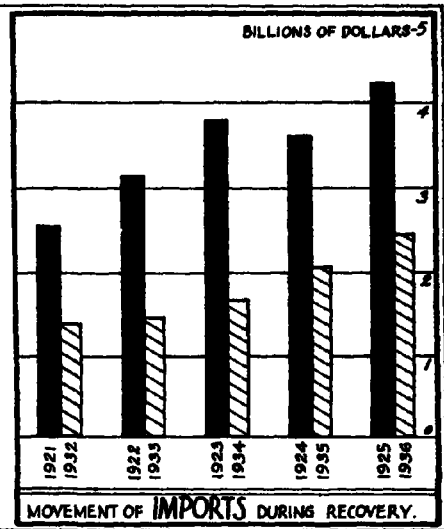
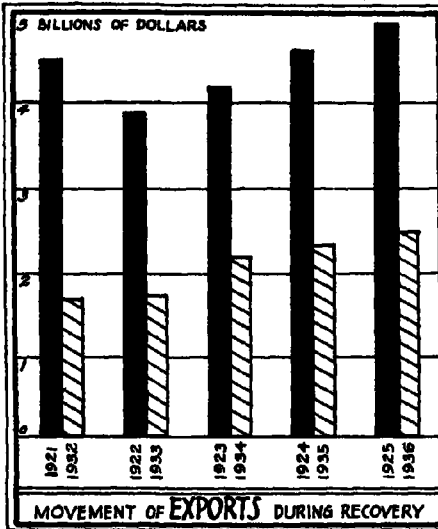
By HARRY TIPPER

IT WOULD be an excellent thing if we could get rid of some of our traditional methods of describing foreign trade and find other designations to replace the "balance of payments," "balance of trade," "favorable" and "unfavorable" that recur constantly in any discussion of the subject. Fundamentally, of course, the total transactions in and out of a currency must balance, but the final value is no greater nor less because of that fact.

Unfortunately, the man who is not experienced in foreign trade interprets the figures as he would a balance sheet of his own business. Such an interpretation is unsound. The groups of figures that are set up on the import and export sides of the ledger have little in common with each other, except that they all represent transfers into and out of our currency. The balance sheet with which the business man is familiar is an entirely different document. Every figure bears upon the value and profit of the business, every figure is concerned with debit or credit, and every item is devoted to the simple objective of producing or distributing goods at a profit. Even so, the summary of a business contained in its balance sheet tells very little, and only by going behind it into the details can any important understanding be secured.

Our export and import figures, however, are not essentially debit and credit items. The groups of transactions involved in the balance of payments or the balance of trade summaries of our foreign trade represent millions of transactions, governmental and private, trade, travel, cultural, non-recurring and recurring, occasional and continual, having in common only the fact that they either make dollar exchange available to people in other countries or transfer the dollars back to us. Groups of transactions may be out of balance, and generally are, providing an excess on one side or the other. These excesses, however, have little to do with the value of the transactions, or their economic or political utility. The misleading resemblance to a balance sheet is emphasized by the items being reported in dollars and consequently present a very similar appearance to a profit-and-loss account. The fact is, however, that these currency accounts obscure the many variations in price relation that occur during the movement of commodities, services, investments, and other groups of transactions across national borders.

Examine carefully the statistics of exports and imports of merchandise, generally referred to as the balance of trade, but which never balance. While it would be incorrect to say that there exists no relation between the export side and the import, the items on the opposite pages of the ledger have so indirect a relation to each other that examination in terms of balance becomes absurd. It does nothing to illuminate their value or their significance and suggests a relation between the two far more definite than what really exists. True, these accounts are of great value to exporters and importers, bankers, forwarders, transporters, economists, and to certain governmental departments who have to handle the political contact with the flow. The purposes that are served by these summaries, however, do not do away with the misleading form and nomenclature attached to them.

Regardless of balance-of-trade sheets, the

exports of cotton and automobiles have a very slight relation to the import of coffee and manganese, and what little exists is of the most indirect character. Imports follow the trend of economic events in the United States and reflect definitely the purchasing power, production necessities, and output in our own country. The close relation that exists between imports and our own welfare is shown by the parallel between the value of imports over a series of years and the volume and earnings of workers. Whenever we are employing our people fully and paying them steadily we import more goods, and vice versa. Particularly during a time of recovery do imports reflect the domestic and not the world picture in this respect. Growth in our automobile production from a fraction to full volume demands vastly more rubber, chromium, tungsten, and the rest of the fifty-odd materials that must be secured from abroad to enable us to manufacture the transportation unit. Advance in steel output from 15 per cent to 80 per cent capacity draws on the world for manganese at an entirely different rate. Increase in the canning industries does the same thing to tin. If other industrial countries are demanding more of such materials, the relation of visible supply and demand is changed very rapidly, and our imports not only go up in quantity but their value goes up much more rapidly than the quantity on account of the price increases brought about by the changed relation of supply and demand.

Inasmuch as we usually consider foreign trade in its dollar relations, the effect of the recovery is over-emphasized in the import side of the ledger. Our foreign purchases of feed grains and other competitive agricultural products reflect the scarcity or plenitude of our own crops rather than internal recovery or changes in the domestic industrial economy. Of course the price matter comes in here again to confuse the issue, making a shortage under one price condition look far more serious than a similar shortage under other conditions of price.

True, all these increased purchases from other countries turn a lot of dollars over to ownership abroad and eventually require more foreign purchases in this country, but the road which brings the dollars we have paid for rubber back to us in purchases of cotton and automobiles is long and winding. The dollars owned by the rubber planters or shippers in Malay, Java, Burma, Sumatra, or Borneo must travel a lot

before they will be available for the people in Uruguay, South Africa or Australia who want to buy refrigerators, radios, oil or steel products from the producers in the United States, even though it is necessary that the dollars owned abroad be spent in this country.

Trade Equation

The export of goods from the United States depends upon the producing necessities and the purchasing power of other countries. Many of these have a different pace of recovery. Some are not recovering at all and much as they would like to, they cannot purchase from us concurrently in relation to our purchases from them. The markets for our American autos, power equipment, industrial machinery, radios, cosmetics and a host of other items are scattered through the 101 countries with whom we transact business and the dollars resulting from our purchases take a long time to get around all these areas.

So there is no direct or exact relation between the movement of imports and exports, except that they are related to the general curve of world movement. In recovery the imports into a particular country move out of relation with the exports. The imports are related to the speed of recovery in the domestic area, while the exports move more in accordance with the slower average of a number of countries.

Of late years the statistics of the trade have been further complicated by the variety of ingenious barriers or interferences that have been set up and that may operate to retard all flow into the countries using them, or be administered with the purpose of discriminating between one country and another. The political actions of all countries have reacted upon the trade and prevented recovery from expressing itself normally in the movement of goods and services. Until these excessive and numerous devices are reduced to reasonable proportions and quantity, the import and export statistics will remain more obscure and difficult to interpret.

Our present position in the international sphere of trade shows the effect of our rapid economic recovery in the greatly increased imports, and the smaller average improvement in the world at large is reflected in our exports. The import figures include the demands of an unusually severe drought in this country, with its effect upon the relation of agricultural exports and imports, and the export statistics include the abnormal demand for certain types of equipment and material due to additional armament undertakings abroad.

The figures for the years 1921–1924 show a situation similar to the present, with the drought and the armament complications excepted. The increase of imports did not lead to an excess of imports over exports at that time and during those years little improvement was experienced in exports although the high value was practically maintained. However, in three other years since the World War the first quarter's merchandise trade has resulted in an excess of imports.

The year 1922 showed the low point in exports; low in imports was 1921. From 1922 to 1924 exports improved by 20 per cent, while imports increased by nearly 50 per cent from 1921 to 1924. From 1932 to 1936 the recovery in our exports amounts to 52 per cent, while our imports have increased by 80 per cent.

The figures in the accompanying charts indicate that the trend of recovery here and around the world expresses itself more slowly in the export of goods to the numerous countries we serve than in the pull exerted upon the commodities we need for our own domestic economy. Four factors account for a large part of this difference between the increase in exports and in imports:

1. The increased demands for raw and semi-processed materials operate immediately to permit increased domestic production.
2. The prices of raw materials fall and rise at a rapid pace and respond to increased demand quickly.
3. The average purchasing power of fifty or sixty countries reacts more slowly

than of one, and the manufactured goods section of our exports shows little increase in the unit price.

4. In this particular instance the loss of agricultural exports in a time of rapid price increases and the need for additional imports during the same period distorts the picture by removing from export and adding to import substantially.

A Temporary Condition

The excess of imports is an incidental consequence of the various circumstances of the depression and recovery which has no real bearing upon the value of this trade or its future prospects. However, it is held to change the whole picture and is used as evidence that the policy of the present administration has had an undue influence upon the trade, with consequent injury to the producers in this country. The figures indicate that this viewpoint is not borne out, that the relation between the growth of exports and imports is in no wise unusual, and that the present condition is a temporary one, due mainly to the particular state of recovery here and in the more important markets of the world. But a subject as traditionally associated with partisan politics and politico-economic theories must suffer at all times from partial, one-sided, and limited interpretations which serve the purpose of special pleadings on behalf of the doctrines to be advanced.

The misleading effect of export and import statistics, read as a balance, is nowhere shown more definitely than in the almost exclusive attention given to the growth of imports and the explanations advanced to account for it. To some it is not only new but portentous and indicative of danger, unwise national policy, and so on. Others view it as equally new but a welcome sign of adjustment to our actual world position. This is emphasized because the excess of imports looms up in the minds of many people as a loss figure on a profit-and-loss statement, whereas it has nothing to do with the profit and loss to the citizens and the government. The individual transactions on both sides of the sheet are normally profitable to some of our citizens and the final accumulation gives no indication of the relation to the welfare of the citizenry as a whole. For many years Great Britain has found it necessary and valuable to accept a considerable excess of imports as a regular feature of her external merchandise accounts. Germany, on the other hand, must export more than she imports, even if her industries and citizens have to go without very valuable commodities to accomplish this.

The fact is that our international trade did not develop in consequence of theories or special policies. It has grown in response to the needs and desires of people and of the businesses which serve them. Some 60 to 65 per cent of our imports are on the free list because they are of vital importance to our industries and our people whose habits of living would be greatly disturbed if they were withheld. In addition, a large number of equally important commodities are subject to a tariff, not because there is any probability that we can supply ourselves with them domestically, but to support a group with vested interests in some domestic production. These items are so necessary that we will procure them without considering "balances of trade" or other general theories. Similarly many of our exports are equally necessary to other peoples and the threads of our external trade are so closely woven with those of our internal trade that pulling them out of our economic fabric would probably destroy not only the pattern but the strength of the fabric itself.

Examined with this background, the current statistics of trade are encouraging but not entirely satisfactory. The increases are valuable and the improvement is substantial, the changes in the flow are quite interesting, but neither the totals nor the individual groups offer clear ground for forecast beyond the immediate future, except that, as in the past, the total of our foreign trade will increase with the continuance of recovery and the maintenance of satisfactory world price bases.

A FUTURE FOR IRAN

The land once known as Persia embarks on a new policy of strict nationalism

By JOHN C. LE CLAIR

TWO years ago, as the latest in a series of nationalistic moves in the land of the Achenemians, the name of Persia was officially changed to Iran. With the other countries of the Near East—Turkey, Afghanistan, and Iraq—Iran had come of age, determined to be master of her own house. The prime mover in this and similar actions directed at the lessening of European influence in the country has been Reza Shah Pahlevi I. His added diplomatic activities in neighboring capitals have led to the belief that, in addition to the elevation of his own country to a position of economic and political independence, he contemplates the organization of a political union of the Persian, Turkish, Afghanistan, and Arabian peoples as a foil to European influences in Middle Asia.

Iran occupies an area of some 628,000 square miles of the ancient Iranian Plateau, with a population of 12,000,000. Until 1925 the country was under the control of the Kajar dynasty, but in that year the Majlis (Constituent Assembly), in the name of national welfare, deposed the then-reigning Shah, Sultan Ahmad, and elected Reza Pahlevi, then Secretary of War, but formerly merely a commander of a Cossack regiment, as hereditary Shah. He was crowned on April 25, 1926.

Iran today, as before the war, finds itself a factor in the rivalries of the great Powers, but the conditions of the 1907 agreement between Great Britain and Russia no longer exist. Iran in recent years has played shrewd politics, which have left her former masters, Great Britain and Russia, with but a vestige of their influence, with which they must be content in the hope that compensation for political losses will come their way in the form of trade.

Of the two, Great Britain has been hardest hit, due in part to the circumstances of her control, and in part to the inability to realize that pre-war diplomatic methods are no longer effective in dealing with the people of the Middle East who have been awakened to nationalistic consciousness by the post-war success of their neighbors.

Unfortunate, too, was British blindness to the significance of the trend of events in Iran, an understanding of which might have prevented the attempt in 1919 to place Iran under English tutelage. This took the form of a treaty signed by the two countries by which, among other things, it was agreed that Great Britain was to supply expert advisers to the Iranian Government, equip the Iranian army, construct railroads and other means of transportation, and make a loan to Iran to be guaranteed by the customs revenues and other resources. Opposition to an agreement so reminiscent of the pre-war era developed quickly and brought into power in February 1921 a Nationalist group which speedily denounced it.

Since then Great Britain has been compelled to accept the abrogation of the Capitulations and the resumption of Iranian control over the customs, has surrendered the privilege of printing Iranian notes, has given up control of the telegraph lines, and has agreed to the curtailment of her oil interests as well as accepted added restrictions thereon. The new conditions under which foreign powers are allowed to operate in Iran indicate the determination of Iran to rid the country of the foreign concessionaire.

No incident better illustrates this situation than the recent treatment accorded the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This organization is the outgrowth of the original grant to William Knox D'Arcy on May 28,

1901, involving an exclusive petroleum concession for a sixty-year period, and covered all of Iran except the five northern provinces. In 1909 this lease was acquired by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government is a majority stockholder. On November 27, 1932 the Iranian Government declared that it could not "legally and logically consider itself bound to the provisions of a concession which was granted prior to the establishment of a constitutional regime," and announced the cancellation of the lease. Iran at the time was fifth among the oil-producing countries of the world.

Great Britain challenged the right of the Iranian Government to cancel the concession and suggested that the matter be taken before The Hague or to the League. Iran refused, claiming that the original contract had been obtained under pressure, that the amount of the royalty (16 per cent of the net profits) had been unfairly calculated, and finally that the oil fields had not been fully exploited. A compromise was finally effected in May 1933. Among the terms made public was the extension of the lease for 60 years, the Iranian Government to receive a minimum royalty of 750,000 pounds a year based on a tax of four gold shillings a ton on oil sold in Iran or exported. A further stipulation denying the Company the exclusive right to lay pipes in the Persian Gulf would seem to indicate that the Shah intends to allow other companies to compete.

The forced acceptance of terms as drastic as these by a semi-official organization is a far cry to the 1907 era, and shows that Great Britain is aware that Iranian friendship involves two factors which are all important—the oil holdings, and the route to India. If these are assured, the loss of smaller items in the course of the domestic evolution of Iran is of small consequence.

Increase in Soviet Trade

To a great extent the position of Soviet Russia during recent years, due in part to the circumstance of the Russian Renunciation, which had served to enlist Iranian support in furthering Soviet economic and commercial penetration south of the Caspian Sea, has been more favorable than that of Great Britain. As a result, her exports to Iran have approximated about $12,000,000 a year, and Russian influence has been paramount in the North, which territory embraces the richest and most important provinces of Iran. In fact, up to

1935 the Soviet controlled the major portion of the Iranian trade under conditions particularly favorable to itself.

However, the expiration in that year of the Soviet-Iranian Commercial Convention of 1931 necessitated a new agreement, in which Iranian nationalism revealed itself as no friendlier to the possibility of Soviet influence than it had been to Great Britain. The treaty signed in August 1935, during the visit of an Iranian commercial and economic mission to the USSR, provided for the absorption by Russia of 40 per cent of the total exports of Iran. Cotton, dried fruits, rice, cereals, wool, and skins are to be exchanged by strict interstate barter for heavy machinery and factory products. Arrangements have also been made for the organization of through-rail connections between the two countries, and negotiations opened with the Soviet Trade Delegation regarding contracts for setting up industrial centers in Iran.

In this last trend towards the industrialization of Iran we have another factor which does not promise well for the future of Soviet trade. Russian exports in the past have consisted of cotton textiles, sugar, oil products, and matches. With manufacturing by machinery now going on, Iran is developing into a position where she can undertake to produce a good part of the mechanized production for which she has been dependent on foreign merchandise. Iran also supplies her own cotton textiles, is cultivating her own beetroot, and is pushing the sale of national oil products in competition with the Soviet. Its effects are observed in the decline in the importation of Soviet oil from 65,426 tons in 1932 to 32,801 tons in 1935. Today the major portion of Soviet exports to Iran are limited to manufactured iron and steel, agricultural machinery, and goods of similar type.

Past predictions that Russian trade dominance in Iran would lead to an eventual protectorate would appear today to have little possibility of success, as Iran proceeds to assume control of its economic and political life. As a result, Russian political interests have been subordinated to trade possibilities, and its relations with Iran, based on treaties and guarantees which meet the former on terms of equality, make fear of Russian political dominance definitely a thing of the past.

Germany in Iran

In recent years Germany has made considerable progress in setting up shop in Iran, and today there are some 1,200 German nationals in the country. In Tabriz, the second largest city of Iran, lying about eighty miles from the Russian frontier, about 90 per cent of the Europeans residing there are Germans, while in Teheran, the capital, there is a considerable number of German business firms. Germans are to be found at the head of various industrial concerns which have sprung up in the past ten years, such as silk, tanneries, glass, tile, and carpets, and their firms have secured contracts for the construction of two of the most important sections of the Trans-Iranian Railway, as well as orders for military lorries and artillery for the Iranian army.

There is no doubt of the importance of Iran as a vital link between Europe and Asia. The visit of Doctor Schacht to Teheran last January, immediately following a stay at Angora, gave rise to considerable speculation regarding the possibility of a new Drang Nach Sud-Osten for Germany. While such might not be the intention, it might appear that Germany, in her present policy of reaching out in all directions in the hope of acquiring possibilities for future bargaining, apparently sees in Iran factors with international nuisance value.

The plans of Reza Shah Pahlevi have aimed at economic and political freedom for Iran. It was well understood that earlier gains with regard to the abrogation of concessions and capitulations were mere externals, and that, while Iran remained industrially backward and therefore dependent as to imports, it would be impossible to eliminate foreign control. As a first step towards economic self-sufficiency, extensive improvements in crop cultivation

have been undertaken. Cereal and cotton production have been improved by the introduction of modern methods, while tobacco and tea plantations, as well as the production of cotton textiles which are now displacing those of Great Britain, have all come under Government supervision. In addition, a tobacco factory has been erected on the outskirts of Teheran.

Trade Restrictions

In order to reap the fullest advantage of these reforms, a Foreign Trade Monopoly Law was passed on February 25, 1931, under which the entire foreign trade of the country was declared a government monopoly. Although in actual practice no such comprehensive monopoly is exercised, yet imports are subject to a system of quotas and import licenses, and in most cases are made conditional on a prior export of Iranian products.

Another protective device was the establishment of new trading companies during 1934–35. These companies consisted of monopolies and semi-monopolies which were given the exclusive rights to import all items of foreign production.

Still another indication of the determination of Reza Shah Pahlevi to eliminate foreign control from Iran is the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway. This railroad, already ten years in the making, will connect the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf by a single track line roughly a thousand miles in length. The terminus on the Caspian Sea is Bender-i-Shah, which is linked with the Persian Gulf at Bendi-Shapur on the Bay of Khormusa, a natural harbor with excellent anchorage for shipping. For a country with the limited resources of Iran the cost is tremendous, running from twenty-five to thirty million pounds. Although it is expected that construction will be finished in 1939, there is possibility that the cost factor will postpone completion. Meanwhile, expenditures for construction are being met by taxation on imports, mobilization of internal capital and credit, and the utilization of royalties from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A second road, already completed, has been constructed from the Turkish-Persian frontier to Baluchistan. Along with this has gone the development of Iran's Caspian ports and a new harbor near Chalous.

An End to Invasion

The building of these roads represents the plan of Iran to provide a direct approach to the markets of the world, eliminating in this way the political ascendancy of foreign interests. One immediate effect of the Trans-Iranian will affect the economic influence of Russia in the Caspian regions, and it is expected that as soon as the completion of the road makes transportation costs feasible Russian goods, especially oil, will be displaced by native products.

The psychological effect of the construction of the road in the life of modern Asia will be possibly of even greater importance. The binding together of North and South Iran will constitute notice to the world that possibilities of Occidental penetration are at an end. To the rest of Asia it will indicate what audacity and determination can accomplish even when opposed to the might of Europe and the century-old tradition of its supremacy.

Iran today is not a strong power from a military point of view. The army numbers about 80,000, with a Security Force (Ananieh) of about 12,000. There is a small navy operating in the Persian Gulf and the nucleus of an air force. These, however, have only a domestic importance. The significance of Iran's position is that it is the product of a definite national policy under the leadership of Reza Shah Pahlevi. In furthering this plan Reza Shah Pahlevi has effected a reconciliation between Turkey and Afghanistan and his own journey to Angora, and the visit of the Ameer of Afghanistan to Teheran, would appear to have set up the cornerstones of a policy which, in conjunction with the ecônomic and political development of Iran itself, looks to the eventual decline of Western influence in the Neai East in the face of an aggressive nationalism.

The CULTURAL BAROMETER

By V. F. Calverton

THE first thing an American thinks of when he goes to Mexico is how barren the United States is, by comparison, in color values and combinations of design. Except in those parts of the United States where foreign influences still persist, we are a relatively colorless and unlyrical people. The Puritanic strain has been too much for us. The simple, homespun outlook upon life fostered by our frontier environment has deprived us of that paganistic abandonment to color and song which European nations have carried down through the ages and which undeveloped, unindustrialized nations like Mexico and Peru have never lost. The Catholic fact in that connection is important. Catholic art, whatever its other defects, has always been esthetically rich and inspiring. In this country Catholic churches, in the main, have been more beautiful, more colorful, and more impressive than Protestant churches. But beyond that, in art or music, the Catholic contribution has been slight; in general, it has been far more derivative than original.

Our best songs, for example, have come from the less developed, the less tutored denizens of the land: the Negroes, who in their Spirituals, their Blues, and their Labor Songs, have been our richest contributors; the Indians, whose lyrics have only recently become the concern of our cultural explorers, and the Cowboys, whose soil-slinging songs and ballads have rung with an authenticity seldom heard in the music of our professional composers and singers.

On the whole, however, our energies have gone into other forms of creation. In the first place, we re-created a vast part of a vast continent. We tamed it, we subdued it, we sowed it, we ploughed it, we riveted and tied it together, we made it one. In its virginal and later its constructive phase, its energies were largely consumed in a struggle to find itself, to develop order out of chaos. And finally, when order began to evolve, it found itself plunged into another struggle, the struggle of the machine. To convert inert metals into moving mechanisms, to resolve stubborn resources into dynamic structures, absorbed our energies for another century and still continue to drain them. In Europe that struggle for order was over at the time when the United States was bending all its efforts to establish it, forge it out of the wilderness. In Europe, that struggle, and most of the memories of it, were already congealed in tradition. In America tradition had—and still has—to form. Until comparatively recently, what form it did assume was foreign, an extension of the traditions of European *milieux* instead of our own.

We have poured our strength into physical instead of spiritual form. In other words, we have been more of a practical than a theoretical or artistic people. We like to press buttons, shift gears, release brakes, whirr dynamos, and are interested in observing and utilizing what the buttons, gears, brakes and dynamos do, which, for instance, explains why as a people we are more interested in photography than painting. The skyscraper represents the American type of mind in one of its most interesting, most exciting, and most genuine and representative forms, combining as it does utility with esthetics. In a word, we have written our best songs, composed our best music, painted our best pictures, in the form of iron and steel—and electricity.

This doesn't mean, for instance, that we have had no painters of note. Copley, Earl, Stuart, Eakins, Duveneck, Ryder, Homer, Inness, Sargent, and the expatriate Whistler, may not have been great painters in terms of

WPA Art Project

NEW HORIZONS IN AMERICAN ART: This mural by James Michael Newell was subsidized by, and is the property of, the United States Government. The Federal Art Project today employs 5300 artists in its divers activities.

European stature, but they certainly were painters of superlative skill and pronounced distinction. What we have lacked in painting, as in the case of the theatre and the other arts, has been an adequate public with esthetic interest and appreciation. The American public, inbred with the Puritan idea that all the arts were the evil products of idle men, never developed an appreciation or esteem for art or artist. The theatre was condemned, novels were condemned, painting was condemned, music was condemned—and what was the result: the sports craze as a vicarious outlet, with baseball, football, basketball, and golf as the ultimate derivatives.

In terms of the past, however, what resulted, in consequence of those facts, were individual artists, who were able, fortunately enough, to survive the hostility of the environment, but not art movement. Art movements are not the products of individual artists, but of tendencies, trends, directions, developing out of the work of many artists, not one—tendencies, trends and directions which grow out of the relationships between artists and their environment, between art and society. No country has suffered more from a lack of such relationship than this country, because no country has shown less interest in the artist as a social product, as a social integer, than America.

Because of that fact our artists have stood apart from the country as a whole, working in *milieux* of interest to the few but not to the many. They have depended for their support not upon an art-loving public, but upon the donations and favors of captious and capricious patrons and of wily and conniving art-dealers. The eighteenth century landed aristocracy, enslaved though it was by the English tradition, was at least superior to the codfish aristocracy which developed into the industrial aristocracy that soon dominated the country in the nineteenth century. It was in the Gilded Age that the industrial aristocracy did most to render American art a nullity by demanding fake grandeur instead of honest simplicity as its criterion. It was from the influence of that period that the false façades, fake cornices, and hollow pillars, so notoriously associated with American architecture, were eventually derived.

Since that time, especially in the twentieth century, the work of Marin, Sloan, Robinson, Curry, Gropper, and above all that of Thomas Benton and Grant Wood, has given American art new and more indigenous roots, and endowed it with something of the spirit of the country itself. Most of these artists have tried, each in his own way, to bring art back to the people, but none of them has succeeded in the task because of two facts: first, that the

populace has not yet been educated to appreciate their work, and second, that the work of these men has been, with few exceptions, segregated from the larger part of the populace.

Art in Mexico

In Mexico, to which we referred at the beginning of this article, that has not been the case, because the Mexican government, years ago, revealed a genuine interest in art as a social thing, a thing which the masses as well as the classes should enjoy, and expended a considerable percentage of its budget in subsidizing artists to beautify its various public structures. It was as a result of such expenditures that some of the best art of Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco was born—art which made Mexico internationally famous.

In various other countries similar subsidies have produced valuable results. In the last decade and a half Soviet Russia and Mexico have been the only countries which have extended a generous hand to the artist, providing him with as secure an income as that of any other worker in any other field. At the present time, however, as I pointed out in this department last month, the United States in its WPA projects, has more than matched the Soviet and Mexican regimes in such governmental subsidies and magnanimities.

It almost seems as if the plastic arts need the support of the state in order to insure their highest and most inspiring productivity. In both Greece and Rome, to cite examples, the plastic arts flourished best when they were encouraged and subsidized by the state. The artist was engaged by the state, or rather by some state organization, and commissioned to do a certain task. He risked nothing in his endeavor since he was paid either in advance or in the process of his work. There was no unstable market upon which he had to hazard his creation.

Of course, under such circumstances, the artist must express in his work that which represents the prevailing attitude of the state, which really means the dominant attitude of society at the time. In a certain sense, such representation, especially in the case of progressive rather than decadent states, is salubrious. At times, it may force the more iconoclastic artist to be somewhat less obviously iconoclastic and make it necessary for him to adopt subtler forms of expression in order to voice his spirit of protest and revolt, but on the whole, costly as such coercive subtlety may be, the artist gains more than he loses.

Body Over Mind

In the case of Greek art, we can find an excellent illustration of how the attitude of the state determined the nature of the prevailing esthetic conception, which, translated into different terms, means how society conditioned the work of the artist. Notwithstanding the intellectual influence of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the Greeks worshipped bodily beauty more than intelligence. In all Greek sculpture one does not find a trace of the intellectual element. There are innumerable studies of the body in action, the body as exquisite form, aloft in eager leap, or tense with expectant spring, but none of the body in intellectual repose and meditation. The furrowed brow, or thoughtshot eyes, or inquisitive lips, are not to be found on Greek statues. The Greek artists did not aim at those things. It was the beautiful, strong body that they sought to portray. The body was a greater protection than the mind in those days of frequent combat and invasion. In Sicily altars were dedicated to the memory of those men whose bodies had been most perfect in their vigor and beauty.

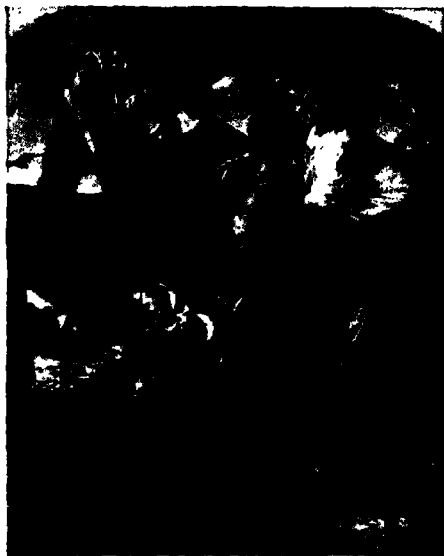
It was in the straight line, however, that the Greek spirit achieved its noblest expression. The inspiration of Greek art revolved about the erect posture. The straight line denoted strength and power. It rose above defeat. It was the symbol of superiority and distinction. As a consequence, we find that the gods and individuals of high birth are always represented in ways that accentuate their rank. They are either placed upon lofty thrones or made to stand in positions of marvelous erectness. This is a testimony to their noble origin. Emotional expression is usually beneath them. Even when disaster strikes, as in the wounded Amazon of Polyclitus, the attempt is always to represent the individual as superior to pain, standing firmly against spear or pillar. Even where, as in the Niobe of Rome, a knee-fallen posture is projected, the dignity of the rigid line is adhered to as far as can be maintained within the scope of the design.

This tradition, it is obvious, was social and not esthetic in origin. Characters who were

not of divine or noble heritage were represented in the most familiar and varied postures. Their bodies were carelessly projected, sometimes in slouching forms, sometimes with legs outstretched, and sometimes as animals slumped upon the earth. Their faces revealed a variety of emotions without restraint. They never displayed the calm poise of more elevated characters, because such display would have been totally incongruous. It was the social attitude, then, that determined the set of figures, and not the esthetic conception of the artist. Nobility was always associated with calmness and restraint. Only individuals not of noble origin could assume the meaner postures that were associated with the commoner.

Time and the River

If there were space to discuss it, a dozen other illustrations of the relationship between art and society could be cited. Before turning back again to the contemporary scene, however, something should be said about Egyptian art in that connection. No other art affords such an illuminating commentary on the influence of the environment on esthetic attitudes and aspirations. In no other country, with the possible exceptions of Babylonia and Assyria, has the presence of a single river played such a decisive part in shaping the entire life of a people. Egypt was, as Herodotus said, "The gift of the river." The Nile determined the nature of the art of Egypt as well as its economics. The mechanical rhythm that characterized its inundations year after year, unfailingly, as if set by a clock wound in an ancient past that would never know a hereafter, timed the very nature of human reaction to a point of unparalleled monotony. The nature of toil was as regular and inevitable as sunfall. What was done was done in harmony with the river. To violate that harmony, and defy the mathematical regularity of the river, meant extinction.

This lack of variation in the life of Egypt disclosed itself in the structure of Egyptian art. The stilted conventions that dominated Egyptian art, with their rigid formality of line, deserted only occasionally, once as an aftermath of the Akhnaton revolt, indicate the extent of this influence. In the construction of the Pyramids this same tendency is manifest. The Pyramids, despite their over-awing sweep and challenging immensity, are simple, monotonous edifices, without the slightest

WPA Art Project

GENIUS AND THE GOV'T: The Federal Art Project has "rescued the artist from desperation." The painting above is by Jared French.

intricacy of line or subtlety of structure. There is nothing experimental or adventurous, nothing fine or ingenious, about them. Only their size arrests. They attest the power of the Egyptian autocracy, nothing more and nothing less. In Abdallatif's saying: "All things fear time, but time itself fears the Pyramids," we have a testimony to the idea that underlay their construction.

But modern art, especially contemporary art, is no less conditioned by such factors: telluric, economic, social, than ancient or medieval art. All art is conditioned by the same factors. To understand the art of any period, therefore, it is necessary to understand the society of which it is a product.

Contemporary art, for instance, is a product in the main of the machine, of a machine-made society, and consequently reflects in its various and multifarious forms, the nature of that influence. In the boom-period, when the machine was producing in Aladdinesque abundance, art raced, as all individualism in every field did, to impossible extremes, making individuality *per se* into its final and futile criterion of value. For a time, as everyone knows, art became as undecipherable as ancient hieroglyphics, the artist determined to

express himself regardless of how much or how little (and usually it was the latter) the public understood him or his work. If he wanted to convey his impressions of a violin, he would usually resort, at least in *The Dial* or *The Little Review*, to depicting it as a horse's neck or a widow in distress, convinced that in so doing, his mother-in-law, at least, would understand the allusion. As a matter of fact, she was usually the only one who did, which is not meant to cast any reflection upon the magazines in question or their art-editors, who thrived by virtue of their inability to understand the *mysteries* of the work they reproduced.

These peculiar, hyper-individualistic artists survived for a while by virtue of the support of the moneyed millions who bought everything in sight so long as their sight continued to be obscured by their millions. It was at this time that Gertrude Stein cashed in on her art friends, and all the art-dealers whose credo was "to be modern or be damned" succeeded in buying country homes in Larchmont or New Rochelle.

Art During the Depression

The coming of the depression, however, altered the situation. The millionaires found that they had less millions, and realized that it was far more pleasant to spend their dwindling funds upon pleasure instead of upon art. The result was that the artists were practically reduced to beggars, and art was in a sorrier state than it had possibly ever been before. To some that statement may seem like an exaggeration, but it is not. When artists live in a country like the United States, where art is so far removed from the people, their survival depends in large part upon the financial state of the upper class which purchases their work. That upper class buys art in the main, for reasons extrinsic to the art itself, as a form of conspicuous display, a means of investment value, a source of public approbation. The minute that class finds such luxury impossible, art is one of the first things it discards. It was at this point that the United States Government stepped in, to rescue the artist from the desolation and desperation of his new lot. "American artists faced the prospect of want, idleness, and the inevitable loss of skill," writes Mr. Holger Cahill, the National Director of the Federal Art Project, and then adds: "It became clear that unless the organized community stepped into the situation, American art would enter a dark age, from which it might not recover for generations. It was to meet this situation that the United States Government established a series of art projects." The result has been, to quote Mr. Cahill again, that "the United States Government has become the greatest art patron in the world."

The Federal Art Project

The Federal Art Project today employs 5,300 artists in its divers activities, which extend from the simple techniques of miniature decoration to the complex necessities of mural design. The Project is based upon the principle "that it is not the solitary genius but a sound general movement which maintains art as a vital, functioning part of any cultural scheme. Art is not a matter of rare, occasional masterpieces. The emphasis upon masterpieces is a nineteenth century phenomenon. It is primarily a collector's idea, and has little relation to an art movement."

The great object of the Federal Art Project is not only to provide a livelihood for artists and to encourage better work on the part of artists, but also to cultivate a greater interest in and love for art, on the part of the American populace. Realizing that the basic problem is to develop an appreciation for art, among the people, the Project has laid as much emphasis upon means and techniques of teaching the populace the importance of art, as it has in cultivating art itself. "The crucial circumstance is not overproduction in art," Mr. Cahill states, "rather it is underconsumption." In order to develop "new publics" for art, the Federal Art Project has opened up experimental galleries in dozens of states, in the South, the Mid-West and the West, where art galleries have never existed before. In some of the galleries opened in Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Oklahoma, North and South Carolinas, the response has been scarcely short of miraculous. Thousands of people who had never visited an art gallery before in their lives, have come to these galleries and have come to understand art as something different, from what they imagined it before. Special efforts have been made by the Federal Art Project, to encourage the work of local or regional artists, and in this endeavor the Project has achieved arresting results. These galleries, featuring often the work of local artists, as well as the work

of important masters, are kept open until nine o'clock in the evening, so that working class people can visit them. All this is done in an effort to arouse a genuine interest in art, on the part of the people. In addition to these experimental galleries, classes in painting, modeling, carving, and weaving have been opened in a number of states, and special classes in these various techniques have been initiated for children, in an even greater number of states. Some of the amazing art products of these children are included in the volume "*New Horizons in American Art,*" which constitutes an excellent survey of the art work produced under the aegis of the Federal Art Project.

The Project has also revealed considerable interest in the past, and in its concern for the history of American Design it is striving to discover something of what, through the centuries, can be called the American tradition. This work carries its students into investigations of the decorative arts: ceramics, glass, silver, pewter, furnitures, costumes, embroidery, textiles, coverlets, toys, weathervanes, and an amazing number of other fields of suggestive value, in such a study. Undoubtedly, these decorative arts perpetuate a subtle and most significant aspect of American culture. They come closer to what the people have felt, cherished, loved, than the art of the professional painters and sculptors dominant at the time. What the Project is trying to do, and which is most laudable, is to provide reproductions of all such work for art schools, public schools, libraries, colleges and universities, so that the students will be able to profit from the discoveries made in these fields.

Fortunately, the nature of this work has made it possible for a great number of artists to work in their home environment, with local and regional materials, which has been of great value to their immediate communities, many of which, prior to this work, have been totally barren of such interests. As a matter of fact, local color, local interests, local mores, have been translated into art form, in hundreds of villages, towns and small cities, which never knew that their way of life had such hidden significance. All these interpretations, all these translations of environment into esthetic form, have done a vast deal to awaken an interest in art in this country.

In the Fine Arts aspect of the Project, it is pertinent to note, as evidence of the excellence of the work produced by many of the WPA artists, that a painting by William Godfrey was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in Washington, that three artists have won prizes at the National Academy of Design, four at the Cleveland Museum's Annual Show, three have won Guggenheim Fellowships, one a Fellowship at the MacDowell Colony, and another, James Michael Newell, won the Gold Medal of the Architectural League. In addition, the French Government, so impressed with the work of the Project, has asked that an exhibition of its work be submitted to the forthcoming Exposition.

The significance of the work undertaken by the Federal Art Project can hardly be overestimated. What it is doing, in the form of mural design, to illuminate and beautify buildings of all varieties: schools, sanitaria, hospitals, libraries, is of tremendous value in elevating the esthetic appreciation of the American public. Nothing like it, of similar educational and cultural value, has ever appeared in this country. The fact that all this work is definitely and inalienably allied with contemporaneity, with the "here and now" in its most demonstrable and dramatic aspects, is sufficient proof of its importance as a living reality. The very fact that the Project is primarily concerned, in the larger part of its work, with today, today's artists, today's society, today's people, is sufficient guarantee of its importance as a cultural contribution.

The Realm of Science

IN CHINA, in Africa, in South America, in many another part of the world, are medical scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation, risking their lives to find the way to control diseases that menace the health and happiness of mankind. These men represent the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the five divisions into which this great $185,000,000 institution is organized.

Public interest in the work of this great organization is intensified today by the recent death of the man whose money made it possible, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. The Rockefeller Foundation was the third of the great philanthropies created by Rockefeller with the aid of his son, John D. Rockefeller Jr., and a group of medical and scientific advisers. First came the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Next came the General Education Board, organized to promote education in the United States. Then came the Rockefeller Foundation.

Today the Foundation is known in every corner of the civilized world and in many a corner not yet civilized. In the field are the medical scientists of its International Health Division fighting yellow fever, malaria, influenza, tuberculosis, hookworm, blood fluke diseases, yaws, and other ailments which threaten mankind. It is not uncommon for representatives of the Division to sit down at an international conference table with the representatives of great sovereign nations.

The aim of this division is the control of disease. As Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation says, "To control a widespread disease, it is not enough to know how a single case can be cured. Methods must be developed which will turn the disease over to the public health worker, who thinks not in terms of the single individual but in terms of the community. Thus in diseases like hookworm or malaria or yellow fever, the objective is to discover methods of prevention or treatment applicable to great numbers of people. One of the difficulties about such a program is that existing knowledge is often too inadequate. Unless public health work goes hand in hand with research, it soon bogs down in methods that are outworn and in ideas that are expensive to apply or that do not fit particular localities."

The Foundation operates over the entire world, supplementing its field work with researches at the Laboratories of the International Health Division in New York.

The Jungle Strikes Back

Among the most dramatic—and important—of the enterprises of the International Health Division is its attack upon yellow fever. Many people have the idea that the work of Major Walter Reed in Cuba at the time of the Spanish-American War ended the menace of yellow fever forever.

When Major Reed began his famous investigation, the dreaded "yellow jack" was killing more American soldiers than were the Spanish bullets. He proved that the pretty silver-barred Stegomyia mosquito was to blame. It bit victims of the disease and carried the virus to the next healthy person it bit. And so Colonel Gorgas went to work to wipe out the breeding places of the mosquito, first in Cuba, later in Panama. And as a result, yellow fever was eliminated and the Panama Canal built.

And indeed, as the years went by, there was good reason to think that the menace of yellow fever had been ended in the Western Hemisphere and that it would be only a matter of time until it was ended in Africa. In 1925, only three cases of yellow fever were reported in the entire Western Hemisphere. In the eleven months following 1927 there were no cases in this hemisphere at all.

But suddenly, as Dr. Fosdick has said, the South American jungle struck back. The disease broke out again. Today, it is known to be a potential menace to America as well as to Africa.

As Dr. Fosdick says, the Stegomyia

mosquito is not the only villain in the piece. There are ways of spreading the disease other than by the mosquito and there are hosts other than man that harbor the virus of the disease. It is known that vast areas of the hinterland of both South America and Africa are endemic centers of yellow fever.

The danger to crowded civilized parts of the world comes from the fact that the Stegomyia mosquito, or Aedes aegypti mosquito as it is more often called today, is often present. It is prevalent, for example, in large portions of the southern part of the United States. If yellow fever were again introduced into such a region, the mosquitoes would quickly begin to spread it as they once did in Cuba.

Five scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation lost their lives when they became infected with the virus of yellow fever. One of them was the famous Hydeo Noguchi. "Science like war," says Dr. Fosdick, "has its heroes; but they fight for causes that are generally better worth dying for."

But no Rockefeller scientist has contracted yellow fever since 1930 when the Rockefeller laboratory developed a method of vaccination that protects against the disease.

Progress has also been made in methods of identifying the disease and in carrying on work with experimental animals. At first, the work was hampered because no animal would contract the disease. Then it was found that the Rhesus monkey could be infected. This, in turn, led to a technique that made it possible to experiment with white mice, animals which are cheaper and more plentiful.

Fear of Influenza

The Rockefeller scientists are also studying influenza. Since 1918, says Dr. Fosdick, public health officials have contemplated with dread the possibility of another devastating epidemic of influenza such as encompassed the world at that time.

How deadly the epidemic of 1918 was, can be ascertained by turning to the records. America lost 27,789 men from all causes overseas in the World War. Between Sept. 14 and Nov. 10, 1918, influenza killed 82,306 people within the borders of the United States. By the end of the year, the death toll had reached 400,000 and the total number of cases in the nation was estimated at 20,000,000.

Influenza swept over the whole world in three great waves. The first wave, a rather mild one, appeared in May and June 1918. The second, which caused the most deaths, appeared in October and began to wane by December. It was followed by a third wave in March of the following year.

No one has ever succeeded in determining where the outbreak began. The French called it the "Spanish influenza," while Spanish authorities said it began in France. American scientists were inclined to blame eastern Europe while a theory in Europe held that it was brought to the front line trenches by American soldiers drafted from isolated rural communities. It is significant that the disease spread through the allied armies before it broke out in Central Europe.

In 1919, Dr. P. K. Olitsky and F. L. Gates, working at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, succeeded in establishing that the disease was due to a filter-passing virus, that is, an invisible germ so tiny that it could pass through the pores of the finest porcelain filter.

Some ten years later, British scientists succeeded in isolating this virus and in 1935 the same virus was isolated in this country from material sent by the Rockefeller Foundation field force from Puerto Rico. Intensive study of this virus is now going forward in the Laboratories of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York.

The Well-Being of Mankind

The purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation as set forth in its charter is "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." To carry out this command, the Foundation is organized today into five divisions. Only the International Health Division has its own field force and laboratory. The other divisions operate by financing the work of institutions, scholars, and young students who are given fellowships. These four divisions, each under its own director, are devoted to the natural sciences, the medical sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

"A program concerned with the advance of knowledge runs the risk of scattering its resources over too wide a field unless a fairly definite policy of concentration is adopted," Dr. Fosdick says. "Consequently in natural science the Foundation has for several years placed its emphasis largely on experimental

biology; in the social sciences, it has been particularly interested in the problems which relate to social security, international relations, and public administration; its work in the medical sciences has chiefly to do with psychiatry, broadly interpreted; in the humanities, it is working not so much on the content of humanistic studies as on the techniques by which cultural levels are affected, i.e. radio, non-professional drama, museums, libraries, and language problems."

Triumvirate of Psychoanalysis

The death of Dr. Alfred Adler, the famous Viennese psychoanalyst, while on a lecture tour in Scotland, serves to call attention to the great triumvirate of psychoanalysis, Freud, Adler, and Jung. Dr. Sigmund Freud, the founder of the science, now lives in retirement in Vienna at the age of 81. Dr. Carl Jung, Swiss anthropologist and experimental psychologist, was the first convert to the Freudian school, but he later broke away to found a school of his own.

Freud sought to explain the motivation of human conduct upon the basis of sex. It must be remembered, however, that Freud uses the word "sex," in a fashion much broader than is common in ordinary conversation. It has more the general meaning of "love," and perhaps Freud's theories would have been more easily accepted had he used that word. In his attempts to explain human conduct, Freud turned to the past, seeking his clews in infantile sexual wishes. He was particularly concerned with the relations of the child to its parents.

Adler coined the phrase, "inferiority complex." He sought to explain human conduct on the basis of the striving for power or superiority. This striving, he taught, often arose from organic weaknesses. Because of this "over-compensation," the boy with poor eyes became a great artist, the boy with ear trouble, a great musician. Adler looked into the future to explain human behavior. The all-important thing for him was the goal for which the individual was striving. He believed that psychological maladjustment was to be corrected by readjusting the individual's goal.

Jung, perhaps because of his anthropological studies, was impressed with man's relations to the other animals. He taught that man was essentially an animal and that this animal foundation which he called the "racial unconscious" was the explanation of much human conduct.

It is to Jung that we owe the division of mankind into introverts and extroverts, those whose minds turn within and those whose minds turn to the outer world.

The New Arctic Exploration

The third phase of Arctic exploration begins with the success of the Soviet government in landing a party at the North Pole and leaving them in a semi-permanent camp upon the ice fields to carry on scientific studies of an extended nature.

The first phase of polar exploration consisted of attempts to reach the pole by dog-sled. Triumph attended this first phase when Admiral Robert Edwin Peary planted the American flag upon the North Pole on April 6, 1909. His dash for the Pole, made with the aid of a few companions, began from Grant Land on March 1 and required all of March and the first six days of April.

The second phase was the conquest by air. In May 1926, two expeditions flew over the North Pole. On May 9, 1926, Byrd and Bennett flew an airplane from Spitzbergen to the Pole and back, making the journey of some 1,600 miles in 15½ hours. On May 11, Amundsen, Ellsworth and Nobile set sail from Spitzbergen in a dirigible, the *Norge*, crossing the North Pole and continuing on to Teller, Alaska, a distance of 3,391 miles, in 72 hours.

The scientific world has been waiting for extended polar studies such as the Russians have now embarked upon. They should contribute much to our understanding of meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, geography, and cosmic physics.

A Study of Twins

Dr. H. H. Newmann and his colleagues at the University of Chicago have finished a ten-year study of twins. They studied identical twins, fraternal twins, and identical twins that had been separated in infancy and reared apart. Their purpose was to evaluate heredity and environment.

They conclude that environment plays a definite part in determining human intelligence. They are convinced that environment does more than merely, as the case may be, develop or smother latent or inherited intelligence but that environment helps create intelligence.

DAVID DIETZ

Highlights of the Law

ALTHOUGH the total number of columns of news and comment published in the daily papers on the subject of the Supreme Court falls little short of quantity put forth in connection with the proceedings of some of our more sensational criminal and domestic relations trials, it appears proper for this chronicle to record a summary of events of the October 1936 Term of the Court, which ended June 1 and which has been described as "momentous," "historic" and "unprecedented", as having written *finis* to an era that began at Appomattox, and as presaging an era of social progress never before witnessed in history.

Of course, in a vigorous and free land, we expect to find those who view with alarm the new points of departure settled by the Court, and grumble that the philosophy of Mr. Dooley is in the ascendant, but there are many, including disinterested lawyers, who believe that the Court has now attained the full "stature of the gnarled and unwedgeable oak", and that its intellect is firmly concatenated with the efforts of the people to build a country with elbow room for the pursuit of happiness.

The General Welfare Clause

The section of the Constitution which delineates the powers of Congress begins as follows:

> SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
>
> To Borrow money on the credit of the United States; . . .
>
> To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years; . . .
>
> To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

It will be noted that the first clause, granting power to lay and collect taxes, is followed by a clause which is either (1) a new grant of power to pay debts and provide for defense and general welfare, or (2) a dependent clause limiting the purposes for which taxes may be collected. The courts have uniformly held it to be the latter, and, while subsequent paragraphs specifically grant the power to create the debt and to provide for defense, there is no specific mandate to provide for the general welfare, and consequently Congress cannot legislate in this field unless the legislation is incident to one of the specified Congressional powers.

Nothing in any of the recent decisions has operated to nullify this principle; on the contrary, it has been reasserted, and certainly any other view would be revolutionary in scope, since Congress would then have no limitation on the objects of its legislation provided only that the proposed law be in the "general welfare." Congress cannot legislate for the general welfare, but it can spend money in aid of it.

Conversely, doubt may be cast upon any enactment which is not in the general welfare, and this may account for the eloquent language of Justice Cardozo in *Chas. C. Steward Machine Co. vs. Davis* (May 24), upholding the unemployment tax of the Social Security Act, where, speaking of the ten to sixteen millions of unemployed during the years "when the country was passing through a cyclical depression", he said: "Disaster to the breadwinner meant disaster to dependents. Accordingly the roll of the unemployed, itself formidable enough, was only a partial roll of the destitute or needy. The fact developed quickly that the states were unable to give the requisite relief. The problem had become national in area and dimensions. There was need of help from the nation if the people were not to starve. It is too late today for the argument to be heard with tolerance that in a crisis so extreme the use of the moneys of the nation to relieve the unemployed and their depend-

ents is a use for any purpose narrower than the promotion of the general welfare."

On the same day, in *Helvering et al. vs. Davis,* upholding the old age benefits provision of the Social Security Act, the same Justice said: "The hope behind this statute is to save men and women from the rigors of the poor house as well as from the haunting fear that such a lot awaits them when journey's end is near."

Social Problems

If it is "unprecedented" in any respect, the last Term of the Court may be said to have decided on more and wider social questions than any previous one. It approved the revised Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act, the Sumners-Ashurst Act prohibiting interstate trade in prison made goods. It upheld the Washington minimum wage Law, the Louisiana tax on chain stores, the Virginia milk control law, and the California and Illinois fair trade laws. It released two communist agitators, however, convicted under defective laws of Oregon and Georgia.

Not only did the Court support much State legislation which grappled with social and industrial problems, and insist that cooperative Federal legislation such as the Social Security Act did not invade or coerce the States, but it also strengthened the hand of the Federal Government, ratifying the Government's power in various directions. It reasserted the President's unequivocal control over foreign relations in the Curtiss-Wright case, involving the Chaco neutrality proclamation, and, in the Belmont case, it held that an Executive Agreement such as that made with Soviet Russia is equivalent to a treaty as the supreme law of the land. In upholding the silver profits tax and the gold clause Act, it acknowledged the Federal power over money, and in refusing to order a refund of process taxes collected under the A.A.A. and upholding the tax on dealers in fire arms it held that Federal taxation could have reasonable regulatory objectives as well as revenue and protective purposes.

A Tangled Web

No one who, as the writer did, was able to crowd into the new courtroom on April 12, could come away without a poignant sense of the drama which then and there achieved its climax. Long queues of people pressed against the entrances and I was glad to find a perch on the marble pediment of a lofty column.

Mr. Justice Roberts proceeded directly to the opinion of the majority in case of *The Associated Press, Petitioner vs. National Labor Relations Board.* He laid down the points one after another, methodically and unemotionally, and gave the decision in favor of the Board. Then, without intermission, Justice Sutherland began to speak from the other end of the bench, reading the opinion of the minority. His theme was "liberty."

Patrick Henry, Cicero, Burke, Hayne or Webster could have done no more by way of *argumentum ad hominem:*

> A little water, trickling here and there through a dam, is a small matter in itself; but it may be a sinister menace to the security of the dam, which those living in the valley below will do well to heed.
>
> The destruction or abridgement of a free press—which constitutes one of the most dependable avenues through which information of public or governmental activities may be transmitted to the people—would be an event so evil in its consequences that the least approach toward that end should be halted at the threshold. . . .
>
> Freedom is not a mere intellectual abstraction; and it is not merely a word to adorn an oration upon occasions of patriotic rejoicing. It is an intensely practical reality, capable of concrete enjoyment in a multitude of ways day by day. When applied to the press, the term freedom is not to be narrowly confined; and it obviously means more than publication and circulations. If freedom of the press does not include the right to adopt and pursue a policy without governmental restriction, it is a misnomer to call it freedom. And we may as well deny at once the right of the press freely to adopt a policy and pursue it, as to concede that right and deny the liberty to exercise an uncensored judgment in respect of the employment and discharge of the agents through whom the policy is to be effectuated.
>
> In a matter of such concern, the judgment of Congress—or, still less, the judgment of an administrative censor—cannot, under the Constitution, be substituted for that of the press management in respect of the employment or discharge of employees engaged in editorial work. The good which might come to interstate commerce or the benefit which might result to a special group, however large, must give way to that higher good of all the people so plainly contemplated by the imperative requirement that "Congress shall make *no* law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press.". . .

Listening to these colorful periods, one began to forget the businesslike statements of

Justice Roberts a few minutes before, and one could scarcely resist the final appeal:

> Do the people of this land—in the providence of God, favored, as they sometimes boast, above all others in the plenitude of their liberties—desire to preserve those so carefully protected by the First Amendment: liberty of religious worship, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of freemen peaceably to assemble and petition their government for a redress of grievances? If so, let them withstand all *beginnings* of encr achment. For the saddest epitaph which can be carved in the memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while yet there was time.

The palpitating echoes of these last phrases were still coursing through the minds of the silent auditors when the majestic Chief Justice began reading the majority opinion in the appeal of the *National Labor Relations Board, Petitioner, vs. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation.* In matter of fact language he began what seemed to be an interminable relation of many different mills, refineries, plants and subsidiaries of the respondent corporation, spotting them over the map of the whole country, and over the line into Canada, to show that labor trouble in any one of the numerous factories, mines, rail lines, vessels, quarries, warehouses, ore dumps, and offices of this far-flung steel empire would constitute a burden on interstate commerce or the free flow of interstate commerce, and therefore was within the Federal power to regulate. "The steel industry is one of the great basic industries of the United States, with ramifying activities affecting interstate commerce at every point. The Government aptly refers to the steel strike of 1919-1920 with its far-reaching consequences. The fact that there appears to have been no major disturbances in that industry in the more recent period did not dispose of the possibilities of future and like dangers to interstate commerce which Congress was entitled to foresee and to exercise its protective power to forestall. It is not necessary again to detail the facts as to respondent's enterprise. Instead of being beyond the pale, we think it presents in a most striking way the close and intimate relation which a manufacturing industry may have to interstate commerce and we have no doubt that Congress had constitutional authority to safeguard the right of respondent's employees to self-organization and freedom in the choice of representatives for collective bargaining." Answering these triumphant words proclaiming the birth of a new era, the reasoned views of the dissenting Justices recall nothing so much as the arguments of Jefferson Davis in *The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy.*

Withal, the Supreme Court closed the Term with still more of the same type of problems on its docket, and the arguments will go on again in October. The complexion of the Court will have been altered, however, by the absence of Justice Van Devanter, who retired on full pay after more than twenty-six years' service. Of 1,052 cases filed during the Term, the Court refused to consider 671, heard argument and rendered decision in 271 and will carry over to the next Term the remaining 110. Although this group of 671 undoubtedly contained many instances of poignant disappointment, including cases of persons convicted and sentenced to death or long imprisonment, the despatch with which the 271 cases, most of which were complicated and important in extreme, speaks well for the efficiency of the Court, as at present constituted. There is much in the argument, however, that our country has become so great that improved judicial facilities are no longer merely desirable, but are imperative.

GUERRA EVERETT

On the Religious Horizon

THE question of Church unity is one which is occupying more and more the thought and consideration of Christians throughout the world. Reports of concerted action on the part of different denominational groups on an ever-widening scale indicate that the churches are realizing more clearly than ever before that their world mission will never be accomplished unless they can act as "the Church," whatever the distinctive or descriptive title may be. A survey of the international and "world" conferences to be held this summer records an all-time high for such events.

Heading the imposing list are the two "World Conferences" to be held in the British Isles: during July at Oxford the World Conference on Church, Community and State (of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work), and during August at Edinburgh, the World Conference on Faith and Order. All of Christendom will be represented at these two conferences, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Communion, and it is reported that even they will have "unofficial observers" at Edinburgh.

The scope of the Oxford Conference is evident from its title. The World Conference on Faith and Order, meeting at Edinburgh, will seek to discover common bases of doctrine and practice which will make possible a greater degree of Church Unity. Preparations for this conference have been in progress for ten years. Continuation Committees for the various countries to be represented have made thorough surveys of the difficulties that lie in the way as well as the possible avenues of approach. This meeting (as is also the case with the Oxford Convention on Church, Community and State) of the many continuation committees will therefore begin where most conferences leave off, and will "fathom more."

The 21st International Anti-Alcohol Congress, which meets in Warsaw from Sept. 12 to 17, will be preceded by special religious services in the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Churches. Medical, pedagogical, and social sections of the Congress will study their respective aspects of the alcohol problem, after their general presentation by Polish members of the Congress, Poland having been particularly active in the last two years in research work in laboratories and institutes of hygiene.

The World Conference for International Peace through Religion will meet in Geneva in September, the meeting being prepared by the Church Peace Union (Dr. H. A. Atkinson, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City).

The World's Sunday School Association will open an office this summer in the building at Geneva occupied by the League of Nations prior to its removal to its new and permanent headquarters, according to the Lutheran Church News Bulletin. The edifice will now be known as "Palais Wilson." Some sixty international organizations, six or seven being religious bodies, will have offices there. The World's Sunday School Association will represent a force of some 40,000,000 Sunday School scholars and workers, a fact of vital significance in view of its avowed purpose to develop a definite "Peace Education" of the coming generation. Dr. Adolph Keller will be in charge of the office.

These are but a few of the many evidences of a real oecumenical movement which is spreading throughout the world. Each year sees further steps, leading unmistakably toward ultimate Church unity. Men, or groups of men organized into churches, cannot long meet together and work together without achieving a sense of "togetherness," which, fundamentally, is what oecumenical means. As these representatives continue to develop this cooperative activity, they find a community of interest, similarity of purpose and method, and they come to admire and respect the ideals as well as the personalities of their co-workers. Mutual understanding begets an attitude which minimizes differences and emphasizes essential points in common. This is probably of greater consequence toward the achievement of the ultimate goal than even the findings of the various committees and

commissions.

As a result of such an informal conference of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders at the Rhode Island College of Education, the State director of education is to appoint a commission to study the possibilities of introducing religious instruction in all the schools of the state. At the dedication exercises of a new educational building of the Lutheran Church of the Good Shepherd of Brooklyn, N. Y., Dr. Charles Trexler said of education:

"Method is important, but the objective, which is character must receive still greater emphasis. This is the responsibility of the Church in a nation constituted as is our United States. . . . Instruction in the Sunday School with its limited and casual attendance is not enough. A thorough, well-planned system of conscientious religious instruction on weekdays as well as on Sundays will go far in developing the character which our young people need so greatly in meeting and overcoming the intricacies of modern life."

Nazis and Catholicism

The very insistence by the Roman Catholic Church in Germany of its right and duty to supervise the education of its youth has caused the Nazi officials to press the war it is waging against the Church. The contest in Germany is over the question of whether there can be any loyalty greater than, or even other than, loyalty to the nation. While it is true that the Nazis are seeking to develop a new "German Church," the fight is not one between Christianity and some other Church,—but between Christianity and National Socialism (which at the moment is employing a type of neo-pagan religion in its efforts to draw adherents from the churches). The highlight of the month was the speech delivered by Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, in which he charged that the trials of German monks and friars on immorality charges had been staged as anti-Catholic propaganda, designed to discredit parochial education. He referred to Chancellor Hitler as "an Austrian paper-hanger and a poor one at that."

The German press, needless to say, was not slow in answering the Cardinal Archbishop's charges with counter charges and recriminations. The climax of this rebuttal was reached in the meeting on May 28 of 20,000 National Socialists in Deutschland Hall, Berlin, addressed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda. Although most of his speech dealt with the Roman Catholic Church and its responsibility for the immorality trials of monks and lay brothers, Dr. Goebbels issued a challenge that Catholicism and Protestantism alike can neither overlook nor misunderstand. He quoted Napoleon's threat to close the monasteries and expel monks and Jesuits from France as a warning that a similar fate is possible in Germany. Referring to the Protestant Church, the Propaganda Minister said: "The German people is thoroughly tired of this hair-splitting. Because of our confessional differences we fought the Thirty Years War. This war cost us the mastery of the world. It cost us possessions such as Great Britain secured." He asserted that the Churches (Protestant) of today in Germany are centers of disunity in the German nation. Speaking of the association of both confessions with the foreign press, he said: "Such newspapers [filled with hostile reports of supposed religious persecution] are not carrying these reports for religious reasons, but because they hope to disunite the German nation. Priests and Pastors furnish them with material. This is nothing less than high treason."

The immorality charges and trials must have some basis of fact. "Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire." This writer agrees with the Rev. Dr. Van Kirk, radio commentator of *Religion in the News* that if and when an individual is proven guilty of sexual immorality, he ought to be punished to the extent of the law. There is danger, however, that the real issue at stake may be overlooked. The National Socialist Government is striving with every weapon at its disposal to weld a united "totalitarian" state. To accomplish this end it is necessary that it gain control of the education of its youth. It is apparent that the Nazis will leave no stone unturned to accomplish this end.

German Priests Consider Marriage

In addition to this, Herr Hitler, Goebbels, *et al* are vitally concerned, not only in the birth rate, but also in the mental and physical qualifications of German parents. Quite a sizeable number of its best men and women, mentally and physically, are constantly being recruited into the ranks of monks, nuns, friars, and lay-brothers. Leading celibate lives, these

otherwise excellent "prospective parents" lower both the birth rate and the intellectual and physical average of the new generation. It is probably in view of this consideration that a group, numbering at least one hundred, of German priests have formed an organization whose avowed purpose is to obtain the consent of the Pope for them to marry. Perhaps the move is a wise one. Perhaps not. The Church's experience in Mexico, where the populace and the Government insisted that all priests be both native-born and married, may be in the minds of these German Priests, who express no desire or intention to withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church.

(The Uniat Churches have, since their return to the Roman fold during the 16th and 17th centuries, been permitted to have married clergy. Married priests are not without precedent. In fact, a celibate clergy was not universally achieved, even theoretically by canon law, until the first Lateran Council of 1123. It may be that we are witnessing the opening phases of a renewal of that argument which dragged out over the first sixteen centuries of Christianity before it was finally possible to enforce it in the Roman branch of the Catholic Church.)

The test of the Catholic position is likely to come on Sunday, June 6, which has been named Catholic Youth Day by the German Bishops. The Catholic youth will be urged to enter the Catholic Youth organization, contrary to the clearly expressed desire of the Government that the Catholic Youth organization be suppressed in the interests of the Hitler Youth, in which membership is compulsory.

And so the warfare against the Churches in Germany goes on apace. Jew, Catholic, and Protestant alike are realizing more clearly each day how deadly in earnest the National Socialists are in their efforts to win the undivided allegiance of the whole German nation, soul, mind, and body. The paradox of "gross immorality" in the midst of (supposed) piety can no longer be tolerated. Dr. Goebbels in effect threatened to obviate this paradox by eliminating the piety.

A Religious Sit-Down Strike

An Associated Press dispatch from Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, May 31, tells of the results achieved by a Mexican religious version of the American "sit-down strike." More than a hundred worshipers broke into the Nogales Cathedral and refused to leave the pews. Three days elapsed (May 28 to May 31). Federal authorities in Mexico, D. F. instructed border officials to return the Cathedral to the possession of the parishioners. *The Nogales Herald* reported that churches throughout Sonora had been reopened on the same basis as the Nogales Cathedral.

The general Church-State situation in Mexico, however, remains unchanged. This in spite of the decision of the Mexican Supreme Court on May 5 that the religious law of the State of Chihuahua, permitting only one priest in the entire State, to be unconstitutional. Only in the States of San Luis Potosi and Sonora and in Mexico City may masses be celebrated in most of the churches. The State of Campeche, like Tabasco, imposes the rule that priests must be married. But one priest is permitted in the whole State of Chiapas. Church services and sacramental rites are effectively denied to the people in most of the other States through limitation of the number of priests to one for each 80,000 inhabitants.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, and representing the foreign missions boards of 29 denominations (Protestant) describes the outlook for Protestant religion in Mexico as "most encouraging."

Speaking before the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Inman said: "From the standpoint of evangelical Christianity, we have one of the most encouraging outlooks in the world today in Mexico. If the Church is willing to stand for its faith it will come out victorious."

The Georgian Church became a State Church in 337 and is this year celebrating its sixteen-hundredth anniversary. It is not easy to see how this will be possible. Like other churches within the Soviet Union, the Church of Georgia has been persecuted and her leaders have been killed or deported. Church buildings have been sacrileged and destroyed. It continues to be difficult to determine just how much of the "religious" news emanating from Russia is to be believed. We know that religious liberty is guaranteed under the new Constitution but public religious training of children is forbidden, and anti-religious propaganda is authorized.

A DIGEST OF COMMENT QUOTED OR TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

THEY SAY

SOMETIMES IMPORTANT ★ OFTEN AMUSING ★ ALWAYS AUTHENTIC

Febrile Warriors

G——, a driver in the convoy of the Unit to which I managed to attach myself from Barcelona to Valencia, was formerly a 'cellist in a Corner House orchestra. Fat, frank, spectacled and intelligent, he had learned to drive a lorry on the day of his arrival in Barcelona: he drove with too much concentration, leaning over the wheel to fix his attention short-sightedly on the road. In a moment of emotion, when we were driving along the moonlit coastal road between Tarragona and Tortosa, he told me that he had only wept three times in his life: once, at the Wembley Tattoo when the whole crowd was hysterical with imperialist fervour, and looking round he had a sudden vision of what it all meant and was leading to; once, when after playing musical trash for months in the restaurant, he went to Sadler's Wells, and hearing *Figaro* performed, realised what music might be and what the standards were by which he earned his living; once, that very morning in Barcelona, when he realised, as he put it, that "the people in this town know they are free."

All the time I was in Spain I remembered these three occasions on which G—— had wept; they seem to me a monument of personal honesty, of the spirit in which the best men have joined the International Brigade. I believe that at certain moments in history a few people—usually unknown ones—are able to live not for themselves but for a principle. One man goes out to Spain because his dislike of the Corner House orchestra and his love of Mozart suddenly becomes a rule of action with which his own life is identified. A young girl, who happens to be an Anglo-Catholic, and who is politically ignorant, goes out to nurse the wounded because she wishes to alleviate human suffering. Her patients, as soon as they are convalescent, bully her for her lack of "ideology," and she suffers far more than they are able to imagine. * * *

The attitude of the Spanish people to members of the International Brigade is a good test of their fundamental agreement. In the first place, propaganda about the Brigade has perhaps not been handled as tactfully as it might have been. For example, the battle of Morata was a turning point in the war because the Spanish troops rallied instead of fleeing at a critical moment. When I went along the lines at Morata, in March, I found that the Spanish Lister battalion was entrenched in positions nearer the enemy lines than any trenches of the Brigade. Yet almost all the credit for Morata has gone to the Brigade. Again, quite apart from the decisive action of the Republican Air Force, which is now 90 per cent Spanish, Spanish troops fought courageously at Guadalajara, yet all the glory went to the Italian Garibaldi battalion.

Tactless propaganda about the International Brigade might appear humiliating to the Spanish people, so it is sometimes suggested that the Brigade is rather resented in Spain. Yet during my six weeks of travelling in Spain I was almost invariably mistaken for a member of the Brigade and treated with extraordinary generosity on that account. Again, it is suggested that the Anarchists are afraid of what the Brigade may do after the war is won. But in practice, Anarchists and members of the Brigade work and fight side by side and the boundaries between political movements are broken down at the front. * * *

At first the war strengthened and unified the social revolution, but in the long run war demands its own measures which threaten to engulf the whole social system. I set beside the story of G——, the lorry driver, the story of H——, a member of the International Brigade, who first came out as correspondent for one of the most reactionary English newspapers. H—— fought in the battle of Morata, where there were four

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YOU CAN'T WIN

hundred casualties in three days out of a battalion of six hundred men. The worst part of this battle was fought without trenches or other protection, except olive trees, in hilly country amongst the fields and olive groves. On the first day of the battle a friend of H——— died of a stomach wound, bleeding to death. H——— stayed by him, under fire, until he died. That night H——— disturbed his comrades, who were trying to sleep, by walking along the lines shouting out that he was thirsty and must have water. . . . The next morning he happened to be fighting next to a friend of mine in the olive grove. He said repeatedly to my friend: "You see that wall over there? How far do you think it is?" My friend answered, "One hundred yards." "Well, you take a range of 120 and I'll try one of 100," etc. . . . That evening he appeared in the lines holding a bundle of telegraph wires which he waved above his head. He said, "Look, I've cut Franco's communications." He had gone mad.

I tell this story in order to counteract the propaganda about heroes in wars. The final horror of war is the complete isolation of a man dying alone in a world whose reality is violence. The dead in wars are not heroes: they are freezing or rotting lumps of isolated insanity.

People try to escape from a realisation of the violence to which abstract ideas and high ideals have led them by saying either that individuals do not matter or else that the dead are heroes. It may be true that at certain times the lives of individuals are unimportant in relation to the whole of future history—although the violent death of many individuals may modify the consciousness of a whole generation as much as a work of art or a philosophical treatise. But to say that those who happen to be killed are heroes is a wicked attempt to identify the dead with the abstract ideas which have brought them to the front, thus adding prestige to those ideas, which are used to lead the living on to similar "heroic" deaths.

Perhaps soldiers suspect this, for they do not like heroic propaganda. When I was at the Morata Front several men complained of the heroics in Left-wing papers. Some praised very highly the report of the battle of Morata, written by Philip Jordan, which appeared in the *News Chronicle*; but they complained that even that, restrained as it was, was too heroic. I had the impression that soldiers in a war have an almost pathetic longing to know the truth.

—Stephen Spender in *The New Statesman And Nation.*

JESUS AND THE GERMANS

I doubt if modern history can show an odder controversy than the row now going on between *Der Stürmer* and *Siegrune*, the militant organ of the "new German faith." (The whole story is told in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of the most useful sources of information about Germany.) Both papers are insanely anti-semitic, but they quarrel about Christianity, which is described in a special number of *Der Stürmer* as an anti-semitic world movement of heroic proportions. The Crucifixion, according to *Der Stürmer*, was the first "ritual murder." *Siegrune* replied, also in a special number, urging that *Der Stürmer* had forgotten St. Paul and got Jesus Christ all wrong. It referred to his "various adventures" in the years when he was "sowing his wild oats," and deduces his "Jewish cowardice" from the fact that our first knowledge of him shows him escaping from possible danger. *Siegrune* went on to explain the Sermon on the Mount as a series of confused maxims designed to upset the minds of simple people—they uprooted the disciples from their proper job of fishing and seduced an official from his post. At the marriage at Cana Christ spoke to his mother with an insolence that "German youth will do well not to make their model." He "coarsely offended the majesty of death" and threw the money-changers out of the temple in a way after the manner of a "Bolshevik mob" in a church. This remarkable issue of the *Siegrune* carries a picture of Ludendorff, in uniform, with the caption "This man too fights against Pharisees and theologians among his own people, unacknowledged, blasphemed and despised." I am not sure whether that is a hit at Christ or Hitler. But clearly a ruling is needed from the Führer. Is Jesus to be regarded as a sub-human Jew or was he an Aryan foully murdered by the Jews?

—*The New Statesman And Nation*, London.

Good Earth vs. New Earth

THE *Osaka Mainichi* published an 8-page illustrated supplement devoted largely to the Japan-German military pact, but one of the most interesting features of the supplement was a description of a new propaganda film now being produced in Japan under German auspices. The title of the film is "New Earth," which immediately brings the suggestion that it is a German-Japanese attempt to counter the Sino-American production "Good Earth," dramatization of Pearl Buck's famous novel of Chinese life which is now being shown in the United States and copies of which are now in the hands of the Nanking censors prior to exhibition here.

The German-Japanese film "New Earth," judging from the description, is designed to be a powerful piece of German-Japanese-Manchukuo propaganda, symbolizing the recently concluded Nippon-Nazi military alliance against Russia (and China?). "Never before," declared the writer of the article in the *Mainichi*, "has there been produced in Japan a picture on such gigantic scale or turned out at such huge cost or with such a large amount of foreign assistance." Dr. Arnold Fanck, well known German film director, and a large staff of assistants have been in Japan for more than a year and in that period have used up 470,400 feet of film and have expended 700,000 Yen, ten times the cost of the most expensive picture previously produced in Japan.

The services of 9,123 people were required to produce the picture and some 50 different sets were built, the locations including Mount Fuji, volcanoes Aso, Asama, Yatetake, picturesque Kamikochi mountain region, ancient capital region about Kyoto, Nara, Tokyo, commercial metropolis of Osaka, Lake Biwa region, Kamakura and the various shrines. The following is a brief summary of the plot:

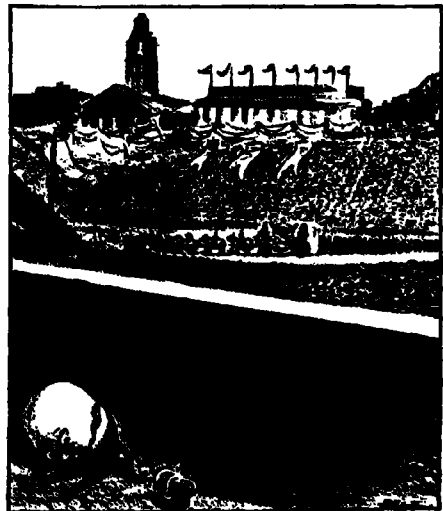
The hero, an adopted son, returns to his native land after 8 years spent abroad. Western civilization having become part of his life, he finds himself in the midst of a bitter struggle within his heart when he renews acquaintanceship with Japan. . . . The picture which unfolds the soul of Old Nippon against the setting of New Japan is climaxed when the battle is won and he prevents his pretty bride-to-be from leaping into a burning crater in traditional Japanese suicide setting. . . . The spirit of Old Nippon then returns to his heart and the two decide to become pioneers in the "new earth" (empire) of Manchukuo.

While the film "New Earth" constitutes a major propaganda effort to cement the relations of Germany-Japan-Manchukuo, the Japanese also intend to use it in connection with their domestic campaign to induce Japanese to migrate to the puppet state. Furthermore they intend to exhibit the picture in the foreign concessions in China and in North China and in Manchukuo as an offset to the Chinese film "Good Earth," which was made under Chinese advisory supervision in Hollywood.

Although the production of the German-directed "New Earth" film apparently has been successful, the same cannot be said regarding another propaganda film called "Modern Japan" upon which the Foreign Office has expended considerable time, effort and money. Several months ago someone suggested that the Foreign Office should produce a film for exhibition in some 30 foreign countries which would provide a favorable advertisement of modern Japan. While the picture was financed from government funds it was to be distributed through the so-called "International Cultural Relations Bureau," in coöperation with Japanese diplomatic and consular officials abroad. Ken Yanagisawa, chief of the "cultural enterprises" department of the Foreign Office, had charge of the production.

—*China Weekly Review.*

CONTAMINATED ITALIANS

The Germans appear very wisely to have withdrawn from the Spanish adventure. They will not risk enough men to win the war for Franco, for they realize that they would be needed in Spain long after the fighting was over. Their armaments have proved, in several respects, so unsatisfactory that they must start all over again. They have no

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"ALL THE KING'S HORSES AND ALL THE KING'S MEN—"

United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

further time or inclination to fight a war for Italy's benefit. As for Italy, it has been made very clear to Signor Mussolini that France, and to a lesser extent Great Britain, can no longer tolerate grave breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement, however hesitating they have been in the past. The risk of breaking it openly has now become so great that Signor Mussolini, courageous man though he be, is not likely to take it.

The foreign "volunteers" on the spot will probably not be withdrawn. Indeed, one problem which must be exercising the mind of the Duce is what he will do ultimately with the Italian survivors of his expeditionary force in Spain. Nobody can gauge the importance of anti-Fascist propaganda on these young men, many of whom enlisted in the belief that they were to go to Abyssinia, and all of whom are hearing for the first time criticism of a regime which has not been criticised in their presence since its installation in 1922.

The Spanish Government has special guns on the front that fire, not shells, but propaganda—which may be even more dangerous. It would hurt less to be hit on the head by a heavy wad of speeches than by a piece of hard steel, but those who escape the missiles pick them up and read them, and are far more disposed to take them seriously than are we, who find propagandist pamphlets in our letter-boxes.

There have been so many sufferers in this brutal civil war that it may seem invidious to select any particular category for sympathy. But one should spare a little of it for these young Italians fighting in strange conditions in a quarrel which is not their own, and in a country which so many of them had never intended to visit. One doubts whether the Duce will allow them for years to return to their native land, for they may have been "contaminated" by their captured comrades who have taken part, willingly or unwillingly, in the propaganda campaign by blaring appeals to surrender through the loud speakers put up in the trenches. The best that these young men can hope for is that when this war is over they will at last reach their destination in Abyssinia, and be allowed to return from it in a few years, when the Spanish war is forgotten or forgiven.

The Italian defeat on the Guadalajara front was not of great military importance. But, politically, it may be decisive, for it has undoubtedly increased the resentment felt by the Spaniards on General Franco's side against the foreigners on whom they have to depend in their civil war. The relations between the foreigners and the Spaniards, and between the Italians and the Germans, cannot have been improved by the Guadalajara battle. On the other hand, the encouragement given to the citizen army in Madrid by this one victory is out of all proportion to the amount of ground gained or prisoners captured.

—Vernon Bartlett in the *World Review.*

THE GREEN FRONTIER

It is the most curious frontier imaginable. No international commission made the survey, giving here and taking there. Brute force divided the land. Where the troops stood when the armistice between Poland and Lithuania was signed, that is the frontier. No matter if the border divided a man's land or forest. This armistice has now lasted for seventeen years, and has never been followed up by a peace treaty.

The armies of the two nations are still there, waiting to fall on each other should some provocative incident take place. They call it the "Green Frontier," for there is a stretch of no man's land between the two lines, overgrown with weeds and brushwood during these long years.

We had to be careful not to photograph outside our sector. It would have been asking for trouble to have put up tripods and cameras in sight of patrols who knew nothing of our permits. Bullets are rather loose in the barrel on both sides. We were still on the Lithuanian side, shepherded by our Commander. Then we saw a strange sight which brought a lump to our throats. A woman with a small child approached one of the barriers barring the unused road. From the Polish side, also, two women came as far as they dared, about fifty yards from our side. They started to shout to each other and wave. The child started to run towards the women on the other side, but was stopped by one of the frontier guards. It was as if they were worlds apart; members of one family,

divided by a cruel political fate. The Lithuanians could not enter Poland and the others, having become Polish whether they liked it or not, could never hope to enter Lithuania. The more wealthy can meet their loved ones on neutral ground, usually in Latvia. Both parties may only live a few hundred yards apart, but if the "Green Frontier" divides them they have to travel many hundreds of miles to a neutral country to shake each other by the hand. Of course, most of them can't afford such a luxury. We were fortunate enough to capture this scene with our cameras and it touched us deeply. —Hans Nieter in the *World Review*.

SPIES AT WORK

The activity of the intelligence service of a certain Far Eastern power is characterized by its elaborate preparation of every aggressive move of Japanese policy. This is shown, once again, by the intense, impudent and often barefaced activities of this intelligence service against China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Intelligence work is conducted not only by military but also by civil departments.

Officially the intelligence services of different departments are independent and their activities are uncoordinated. Actually they are all under the direction of the intelligence department of the general staff. This has, of course, great advantages in the sense of a fuller utilization of all possibilities, forces and means against the countries subject to aggression. On the other hand it concentrates in the hands of the general staff a colossal power over all other departments of the Government, a power that it may easily abuse. And we know that Japanese militarism is inclined to do so.

In Japanese novels depicting Japanese wars of the past and future, Japanese spies and diversionists invariably occupy a prominent part. They are shown as blowing up the Panama canal, fomenting insurrections, etc. The population of Japan has long been trained to esteem espionage. Even at present advertisements often appear in the Japanese press in which the police state that "they are glad to receive secret information from Japanese subjects."

Some foreign observers assert that no Japanese subject can legally leave the country without pledging himself to become a secret agent of one or another of the intelligence services. Apparently there is a great deal of truth in these assertions.

The authorities of that country assert categorically that their official institutions and representatives abroad are not interested in espionage. To demonstrate the falsity of these official pronouncements we offer certain facts on the espionage activity of diplomats of all ranks.

Thus, in its time, the Tsarist secret police has proved documentally that, before the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese consul in Odessa maintained a network of spies embracing Turkey,

Daily Herald, London

ABYSSINIAN CHERUBS (to child victims of Guernica): "Golly, white children, am the white Christians civilizing you, too!"

Persia, Bulgaria, Serbia and the Caucasus. The attempt on Prince Golitzin, Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus, was made known to that consul thru his agents twenty-four hours before the official announcement.

In 1902–1904 the Japanese military attaché in Berlin obtained thru his agents several secret documents pertaining to the colonial policy of Germany. Copies of these documents were given to the British by the Japanese Government.

In the twenties, the Japanese general staff sought to reestablish thru the ministry of Foreign Affairs its old espionage friendship with Poland dating from the Russo-Japanese war. At that time Pilsudsky did espionage work against Russia under the direction of the Japanese intelligence service.

In February 1924, a group of spies was arrested in Vladivostok including several officers of a certain consulate—Gunzi, Haruda and Ossakabe.

The former Japanese premier Hirota recently related in a newspaper interview his activities as a spy in Korea and Manchuria when he first entered the Foreign Service in 1904.

This far from complete list of the spying activities of official representatives gives us every right to say that the basic centers that organize and direct the spying activities of a certain power in other states are diplomatic institutions in general, and naval and military attachés in particular.

—*Izvestia*, Moscow.

GERMAN PLANS

For all his fanaticism Hitler is not entirely without a sense of reality. He realizes he is not in a position to kill in one fell swoop the whole of the Versailles Treaty and give Germany back her

Birmingham Gazette

PRIVATE VIEW DAY
This year's problem picture. Problem: Who was the Artist?

pre-war frontiers. He has applied himself to this task with a certain gradualness, taking the line of least resistance. He realises that the old Polish-German frontier cannot be restored without a war. Germany is not yet in position to fight Poland because of the latter's alliance with France and because of Article 16 of the League Covenant. That is why Hitler began by destroying the clauses of Versailles which forbade Germany's becoming, for purposes of revenge, a military and naval power. There was almost no risk for him in tearing up these clauses. There was a certain risk when he decided to remilitarize the Rhineland in order to prevent, or at any rate delay, France's coming to the aid of Poland, her eastern ally. Finally, he is trying to weaken and destroy the Franco-Polish alliance by the conclusion of a new Locarno; he is trying to undermine the League of Nations, or at any rate, Article 16. Having thus consolidated his position, and with his rear protected by the Polish-German pact, Hitler will probably try to seize Austria and Czechoslovakia, after making the Balkan States and Hungary his minions. After which he will be able to proceed without danger to the abolition of the rest of the Versailles Treaty relating to the East, without bothering whether the ten-year period, provided for in the Polish-German Pact, has elapsed or not.

It is thus clear that the Polish-German Pact is not an instrument of peace but one which strengthens Germany's aggressive plans. What does Poland get out of it? A temporary peace of ten years or less? But this peace would be surer were Germany disarmed, forced to observe the Versailles Treaty and threatened by France in case of an attack on Poland.

—*Le Journal de Moscow*, Moscow.

THE REDS AGAIN

Neither the so-called Reds of Señor Caballero nor the so-called Nationalists of General Franco are likely in the long run to tolerate in perpetuity the foreign influences now pressing upon them. The Reds in essence are anarchist and disruptive of the social order rather than bolshevist in the Russian sense. They are composed of different sections fighting against the same enemy but for different ends. If they win it seems likely that Spain will be split into several regional independent entities. Russian influence would not be likely long to survive such an outcome. General Franco for his part, fighting in theory for a unified Spain, has shown that in the event of success he would no more tolerate Italian or German influence than Señor Caballero would tolerate Russian influence. When he decided in the middle of March to halt his operations pending an improvement in the weather and the Italian forces, differing in temperament and mistaking General Franco's temperament, insisted on advancing by themselves, their discomfiture was due as much to Franco sabotage behind their lines as to Caballero counter-attacks from in front. The British Government throughout has sternly followed the policy of true disinterestedness, a policy which seems to be justified

twice over by the now apparent fact that neither side in Spain seems likely to attain a decisive victory. The prospect rather unfolds itself of a long-drawn-out indecisive guerilla war on the true Spanish model. But so far as public opinion is concerned even in Great Britain, it seems impossible to prevent the warm-hearted people from taking sides in the most violent spirit. Newspapers of the Left do not conceal their glee over what the superior news service of the Reds succeeds as featuring as Red victories, and newspapers of the Right equally believe that Franco embodies everything good in human nature. The Comintern is unrivalled as a propagandist organization. Its particular service to Señor Caballero has been the establishment of a first-rate news service. Foreign correspondents are encouraged to visit the front lines and are given good telegraphic and telephonic facilities. General Franco despises such things. No correspondent is allowed to visit his front lines. Telegrams are charged at excessive rates. A letter was published in *The Times* of April 2nd from Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford, who had made a three weeks' tour of Western Spain. In it he showed that the rival news services published in the British papers on Monday, but the Nationalist version not till Tuesday or even Wednesday. His letter itself threw valuable light on the less well-known facts of Franco Spain.

—George Glasgow in *The Contemporary Review*, London.

ITALIAN SUCCESS

We are faced with a pact of friendship which contains no clause relating to political collaboration abroad, and no provisions for mutual assistance, so if we consider the pact by itself there is nothing in it to give rise to anxiety.

From another point of view we are forced to admit that Mussolini, absorbed as he is by Spanish affairs and by the organization of Abyssinia, is following none the less resolutely his plan of Mediterranean expansion. The conclusion of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Britain, the Milan conversations of Count Ciano with M. Rustu Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, the Duce's journey to Libya, the conclusion of this latest pact—all these events are so many steps towards the hegemony which Mussolini wishes to exercise in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Perhaps Rome would have been less eager to conclude the agreement if the necessity had not arisen, after the unfortunate Guadalajara battles, to re-assert in a striking manner the prestige of its regime. To be convinced of this, you only need to glance at the Italian press and see the way that the new agreement is heralded as a magnificent success of fascist diplomacy.

A success? Possibly. It is too early to say that. So far we know what Rome has agreed to, that she accepts the territorial *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and renounces all intention of favouring and harbouring Croat agitators.

And Jugoslavia? It is difficult to see what contribution she makes to the agreement, except the promise not to make war on Italy. Our Jugoslav friends are peace-loving, and a promise to respect their frontiers is enough to satisfy them.

As for ourselves, our relations with Belgrade are not affected by the new agreement. Our friendship with the Jugoslavs is of too long standing, it was forged too firmly, to be at the mercy of any wind that blows.

—*L'Homme Libre*, Paris.

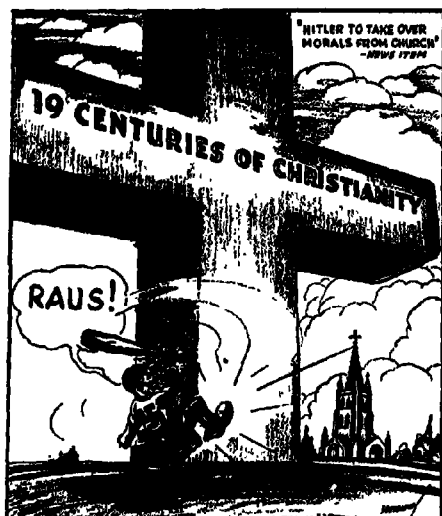
MUSSOLINI'S LINE

Mussolini has decided to take the line of greatest resistance. Intoxicated by his victories in Abyssinia, and relying on the support of his temporary ally, Hitler, Mussolini dreams of establishing his supremacy in the Mediterranean and even of competing with Great Britain. A master of bluff and threatening gestures, he is trying to compel Great Britain at least to recognize Italy as an equal and not to hinder the realization of some of her designs. It is for this reason that Mussolini, having failed to make an agreement with Primo de Rivera, has decided to install himself in Spain where, together with Herr Hitler, he has provoked a civil war and where he is now trying to establish a fascist regime which will do whatever he wants.

To achieve these ends fascist Italy had to cover its rear. That is the meaning of the agreement with Jugoslavia. When these aims are achieved a strengthened Italy will turn once more to Adriatic and Balkan problems and will use for their solution any extra power she may have acquired.

—*Le Journal de Moscow*, Moscow.

NOBLE KING

If we ask much of our Kings and Queens as sovereigns, we ask much of them as individuals too. For them, for us, and for the world at large, there are difficult days, it may even be perilous days, ahead. The old standards everywhere are being fiercely challenged. The old loyalties may be sharply strained. But the things which stand, irrespective of fashion or rank or revolution, are after all the old and homely virtues, possible alike for Princes and for lesser folk. There is no denying the temptations which beset every man brought up to be a King. It needs strength of mind in an atmosphere of adulation not to become selfish or spoilt. For the heirs of Kings and Emperors there will always be risks of deterioration which a Washington or a Lincoln may escape. Republican austerity, no doubt, makes easier the path of virtue. But, on the other hand, the self-mastery learned under difficult conditions is one of the greatest qualities which fit a man to be a King.

G. Bressler Editorial Cartoons

The secret of Royal influence in England is to be simple, self-sacrificing and sincere. It is, if we may be allowed to say so, because our people believe that their new sovereigns have already learned that secret together, that the welcome offered them is so unaffectedly genuine to-day. They are ascending a throne which we are not alone in thinking the greatest in the world, a throne founded on the securest consciousness of freedom and the widest sense of human fellowship the world has seen. To guard that freedom and to keep alive that sense of fellowship is as noble a task as can be committed to man. Our Sovereigns know, none better, the demands which it must make upon them. To those demands they will respond. It is for this reason that their subjects so warmly and unanimously wish them well. It is for this reason that, when George VI puts on the crown of his ancestors at Westminster, we shall one and all echo with devotion Edward VIII's last words to his people, "God Save the King."

—Charles Mallet in *The Contemporary Review*, London.

SOVIET SOAP

The fact that the Soviet Union today uses 2.5 times as much soap as did Tsarist Russia speaks more convincingly than many a thick volume of the great changes that have taken place in the country.

Consider, for example, the fact that far-off Turkmenia used eight times as much eau-de-cologne and almost four times as much tooth powder and paste in 1936 as in 1932, and you have an indication of what is going on in the Soviet portion of the so-called "changeless East." It takes very little imagination to connect this development with the increased crops of cotton, the rise of new oil fields, the founding of industries in this region which formerly suffered the fate of an exploited Tsarist colony.

—*Moscow Daily News.*

Italy Over Britain

ENGLAND has decided to temporise with Italy. And France? Is it, or is it not, a fact that M. Viénot, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is looking for war with Italy? Twice he has put France in a difficult position—first over Morocco, and recently over Italian intervention in Spain. The second occasion seemed so serious to the British Foreign Office that it did not hesitate to leave the Quai d'Orsay in the lurch over it.

And now, whether you like it or not, Italy is mistress of the Mediterranean. The British Foreign Office turns a blind eye to the Italian troops already in Spain. It is not difficult to understand why the Rome government hastened to send battalions to Cadiz and the Balearics. It is not difficult to understand the arrogance of the Duce, imitating English arrogance. Rome is behaving in Burgos, and in Addis Ababa, in the same way as Perfidious Albion has for centuries behaved throughout the world. If the Duce has genius, it is in applying her own brutal methods to England.

Mistress of the British outlet in the Red Sea and so of the Suez Canal, Italy is now almost in command of Gibraltar and the Moroccan coast.

The truth is that Rome is playing her cards with all the energy and resource derived from having a single will. Fascist Italy wants to close the Straits of Gibraltar in order to protect her exploitation of Abyssinia. She is succeeding, thanks to the foolishness of the Moscow Reds. The aim of this exploitation is to obtain for Italy the raw materials denied her at Versailles when she asked for colonies in the name of her common victory with France and England.

First of these raw materials is motor fuel. Italy, realising England's superiority in resources, wants to specialise in a war of skirmishes. And such warfare demands mechanised action. Has Abyssinia any oil? Italy, with Germany's aid, is looking for it. But the eager Duce does not want to wait for the results of uncertain research.

The climate of Abyssinia is favourable for planting sugar-cane. With sugar-cane alcohol can be made. By mixing alcohol you can make motor fuel. And with motor fuel there is the possibility,

thanks to the climate and the size of Abyssinia, of arming thousands of planes to carry on a pirate's war against the Home Fleet—the kind of war which made England what she is. The study of the cultivation of cane-sugar in Abyssinia was the Rome government's reply to Franco-British jeers.

When, on top of this, you bear in mind the copper which Germany is getting in Spanish Morocco, it is easy to realise the material extent of the German-Italian alliance. Motor fuel in Abyssinia, copper in Spain—here are the underlying reasons for all the apparently haphazard events which come as surprises to the world. It only remains for Berlin and Rome to solve the problem of artificial rubber. When this has been done, the two dictatorships will have solved the problem of raw materials.

Faced with this fertile material alliance, what can France and England do? By their ambiguous attitude to Italy and Germany as well as to communism, the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay can only come to a dead end which will shatter their union. We won't speak of France. She is in the middle of a collectivist experiment which is an extra trump for Rome and Berlin. As for England, she will not be ready until at least 1940. Then she will dispose of a miserable army of 350,000 men and of 2,000 planes. Her fleet will be up to standard, but not suited to the type of warfare the Italians are preparing to wage in the Mediterranean. The Foreign Office is temporising in Spain, as it did in Ethiopia, because the Admiralty fears this new peril. France alone refuses to learn the lesson, and persists in a passionate campaign against Italy and Germany, with whom Britain never ceases to negotiate.

—*Cyrano*, Paris.

Il 420, Florence

INDIA. THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

"John, have you seen what awful things are going on in Abyssinia?"

"Yes, those Italians will never earn the love of the people they colonise."

RED ARMY POLITICS

It has been known for some time that Marshal Tukhachevsky, second in command of the Soviet Red Army, was in disgrace. The only doubt was whether the eclipse was partial or total. This doubt no longer remains, for on Tuesday it was announced that Marshal Tukhachevsky had been relieved of his post and appointed to the minor position of Commander of the Volga Corps. The cause of his downfall is clearer or, at least, less mysterious than in the case of other eminent Russians. It is probably not Trotskyism which has brought the Marshal low, though his name was mentioned in the trial of Radek, but too determined views on foreign policy. He is known to have been one of the chief exponents of a close alliance with France and to have placed great hopes on the Franco-Soviet Pact. Marshal Voroshiloff, his superior and one of the most powerful men in Russia, is thought, on the other hand, to be rather lukewarm towards the pro-French policy, while Marshal Yegoroff, the Chief-of-Staff, is said to be openly anti-French and pro-German—in the sense that he favours an agreement with Germany. It can hardly be without significance that Marshal Yegoroff has now been chosen to succeed Tukhachevsky. But all these three men are professional soldiers in the Red Army, which, though becoming increasingly powerful, cannot have the final say. Where does Stalin stand on this question? There have been recent reports that the Soviet Government is dissatisfied with the development of the Franco-Soviet Pact and that it has pressed the Blum Government to start military conversations based upon it. Is it possible that the Soviet Government has also tired of "entanglements" in the West? There is a distinct possibility that Russia, having discarded the Trotskyist "heresy" of world revolution and having gained confidence in her own strength, may retire into a new and self-willed isolation.

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

MASSACRE OF LEPERS

Details are slowly reaching Shanghai of the brutal massacre by Chinese soldiers on the morning of Easter Sunday, March 28, of between fifty and sixty Christian leper men and women at the leper settlement of the American Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Yeung-Kong, in Southern Kwantung.

For more than twenty years this settlement has ministered to the needs of some of the lepers in

this region under the supervision of the doctors of the mission hospital and other friends. Some financial help has been given by the local Chinese community, whose attitude has always been friendly, and assistance has been given from the Chinese Mission to Lepers and the American Mission to Lepers. Such funds as it has been possible to secure have not been sufficient, however, and the lepers have endeavoured to eke out their existence by begging.

It appears that in the early part of March a senior officer of the Chinese troops stationed in the neighbourhood began to display a hostile attitude towards the lepers, threatening to shoot any that were seen about. He sent a message to this effect to the local authorities, and a meeting was called to discuss the matter. Both the civil and the military authorities were invited to attend, but none of the latter put in appearance, and consequently nothing could be done.

On the Wednesday before the massacre the military announced that all lepers in the settlement would be given ten cents a day. It now seems evident that this was done with the object of trying to get as many lepers as possible into the settlement with a view to killing them. Each inmate had to sign his name when receiving his ten cents. This continued for three days, and then early on Easter Sunday morning the inmates were called together to receive their money. Accounts reaching Shanghai from trustworthy sources state that as soon as they had assembled soldiers rushed in, bound the lepers, dragged them out of the settlement, and shot every one. Two long trenches were dug and the bodies of the men thrown into one and those of the women into the other. Of those murdered, between fifteen and twenty were women and the rest, about forty, were men. Subsequently, it is stated, the soldiers ransacked the settlement and, after stealing what money could be found, set fire to the buildings.

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

Spain, Fascism and Heroism

TO UNDERSTAND this fatal convergence of forces, feudalism within Spain, fascism outside, let me return for a moment to the definition of fascism which I mentioned before. What is fascism? In its bare political results, it is an old human custom—repression of the people by sheer force—in a new shape. In its economic and social character, however, it *is* something new under the sun. It is, first, an industrial economy in the last stages of profit taking; second, it is a numerically important middle class radicalized by the suffering caused by the cracking price system; third, it is an organization of that class and its use to destroy the presumptive causers of the crisis, the workers; fourth, it is a betrayal of that class once its work has been accomplished; fifth, it is a pathologic nationalism which is calculated to make that class forget its present woes; sixth, it is war; and lastly, it is imperialism.

Essentially, fascism is a speeding up of the cycle which characterizes modern, fully developed capitalism. It is a small edition of the history of nineteenth century western Europe, considerably abbreviated and carefully edited. It is a telescoping into a few years of what took place during generations. This is particularly true of war and imperialism, two characteristics common to decadent capitalism and fascism. Thus it happened that in the nature of things fascism needed Manchuria and Ethiopia. Fascism also had need of Africa. Fascism needs to break the life-line of an empire. These were the imperatives of European fascism in 1936.

In Spain, too, there were imperatives for the feudalism that simply would not give up. There was need of an army. There was need of aeroplanes, bombs and tanks. There was need of motor transport,—things which feudalism cannot produce. This coincidence of the needs of regressive feudalism in Spain and fascism abroad was the basis of the alliance that brought the war to the peninsula. The practical details were arranged. Colonies, copper, mercury, cork, iron, oranges and olive oil in exchange for Junkers, Capronis and whippet tanks. Sanjurjo sailed for Berlin, followed a little later by Primo de Rivera the younger.

Meanwhile, in Madrid Gil Robles and Juan March turned loose their terrorist campaign. The building contractors of Madrid engineered strikes and lockouts, which, as they have recently stated, they considered as the opening gun of the rebellion. When Franco and Mola, duly bought and paid for, were ready, the rebellion began in earnest. That was July 18, 1936. It was the second blood christening of the young Republic.

Such, in substance, are the under tides that carried Spain from April 14, 1931 to July 18, 1936. Of the fighting itself, I shall not speak. We can only recall the siege and bombing of Madrid, the slaughter of Badajoz, and the retreat from Malaga. The dates on which those men, women and children died under rebel guns are unknown. We cannot celebrate them. We can only remember them.

—Ernesto Galarza.

INTERNAL RUSSIA

Soviet Russia is obviously in a state of ferment. With the ceaseless announcements of new arrests and dismissals, it is becoming clear that a terrific struggle is going on behind the scenes. What is

even more important is that not only Trotskyists are being arrested but the very people who themselves were responsible for the recent trials of these Trotskyists, including some of Stalin's most trusted lieutenants. The nature of the struggle is not easy to gauge from this distance, as totalitarian States are in a large measure cut off from the rest of the world. In certain quarters it has been suggested that there is a struggle for power going on between the Army and O.G.P.U.—that is whether Voroshiloff or Stalin should be Russia's Napoleonic dictator. What is more likely is that there is a definite reaction against Stalin's policy of nationalist isolation which runs counter to the whole tradition of the Russian Revolution. The rapid swing of Stalin towards nationalism could certainly not have been foreseen a few years back. Evidence of its completeness can be had from the recent instructions to the Chinese Communist Party to place themselves under the Kuomintang at the head of which stands Chiang Kai-Shek who, in 1927, shot down the Communists wholesale.

The reason for this new policy is of course that Russia wants an ally against Japan. Chiang Kai-Shek is apparently more useful in this regard than the Chinese Communists. No wonder people are beginning to say that to be a Communist these days is to become a nationalised Russian subject.

—*South African Opinion.*

South Africa and War

THE two extremes of policy may summarily be stated as on the one hand those who would regard as unthinkable Union neutrality in a war in which England was involved, and opposed to them the complete isolationists who would keep the Union out of war at all costs. The view of the former category was bluntly put by Col. Reitz when he told the Imperial Press Conference that "we have the right to secede and to create a republic or to remain neutral in war, but those are academic questions. . . . What would actually happen in the event of war would be what happened at the last Great War, when people flocked to the banners." For "Col. Reitz" it is also permissible to read "Gen. Smuts." Dr. Malan has from time to time expressed in unequivocal terms the viewpoint of the isolationists. Between these two extremes, may be found a not inconsiderable section with divided loyalties whose position is qualified by certain specific considerations.

Whatever the possibilities, liberals in South Africa must examine the situation from every possible angle before giving our Parliament a "carte blanche" in regard to war policy. To those who would categorically bind us to Britain in every circumstance, the South African liberal has the right to ask: Which Britain? That of conservatism flirting with the fascist countries, or the liberal-labour elements who form to-day the most progressive part of the British nation.

At the risk of giving expression to views which may not prove everywhere acceptable, it is as well to state that South Africa has several reasons for remaining neutral. Apart from the purely pacifist considerations outlined earlier, we cannot ignore the fact that South Africa has no markets to defend or conquer—the primary cause of all modern wars. We are not unmindful of the strong patriotic ties that bind a large section of our population to Britain; but none the less we must seriously ask ourselves whether the bodies of the South African youth are to be used to stop up the blunders committed by some of our British Conservative statesmen. The derogatory note that has characterised all recent references to the League of Nations in these quarters is a very unhealthy sign. War can still be avoided if the League, which suffered such a serious set-back since the Abyssinian affair, can be revived to cope with all aggression whether in the West or in the East of Europe. Britain, France and Russia can guarantee peace in Europe, if peace be the desideratum. But the vacillating and double dealing policy of the British Conservatives compels us to ask whether these gentlemen are primarily concerned with peace or with their financial hegemony. It is in this light that we should like South Africans to examine the whole situation.

Lest the attitude we have taken be considered as unpatriotic, we need only quote in our support the position of Lord Lytton, who at a meeting at Albert Hall, said that he was not prepared to support any war waged exclusively in our national interest. He stood, he said, for something greater, and when an ironical interrupter asked him if he meant the British Empire, he said: "No," he was only prepared to risk a war in defense of the peace of the world. Lord Lytton, let it be added, yields to no one in the matter of patriotic sentiment.

If South Africa is to bond herself with Britain in the case of emergency, this must be on the condition that it is a Britain guided by a spirit such as expressed by Lord Lytton.

—*South African Opinion.*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, May 11—June 10

NATIONAL

MAY 11—Germany, Sweden, U. S. pay tribute to Hindenburg disaster victims as bodies are shipped home.

House appropriations subcommittee slashes President Roosevelt's proposed relief budget for 1938 fiscal year from $1,500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000; House votes 224 to 34 amendment to extend CCC two years as emergency agency.

MAY 12—27,000 strike in Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation in Pittsburgh, Pa.; Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, C.I.O. affiliate, demand collective bargaining contracts.

John L. Lewis, C.I.O. head, declares neither he nor American Labor wishes peace with A. F. of L.

House passes C.C.C. Bill in amendment form; Senate authorizes new TVA dam at Gilbertsville, Ky., to cost $112,000,000.

MAY 13—House Appropriations Committee recommends full $1,500,000,000 for work relief for 1938 fiscal year; overrides sub-committee recommendation to cut relief to $1,000,000,000.

Company and union officials meet to end Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation strike in Pittsburgh; 5,800 workers of Pittsburgh Steel Company join walkout; Philip Murray, S.W.O.C. chairman, calls other strikes "inevitable" if companies refuse to sign.

Federation of Motion Picture Crafts and Producers seek end of strike in Hollywood, California.

Strike halts operation in Fisher Body Plant, G.M. subsidiary, in Cleveland; union charges discrimination against members.

MAY 14—President Roosevelt, back in White House, confers with congressional leaders.

Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, in Covington, Kentucky, dissolves temporary injunction halting power program of T.V.A.

Strike in Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation and Pittsburgh Steel Company settled, on basis of recognition of S.W.O.C.; company to negotiate if S.W.O.C.; wins N.L.R.B. election.

Ford Motor Company begins drive against unionization of employes; pamphlet distributed to 150,000 workers warning against "outsiders" seeking "job monopoly."

Judge R. M. Gibson, of Federal District Court, in Pittsburgh, grants temporary injunction blocking government's anti-trust suit against Aluminum Company of America; order restrains Attorney General Cummings from continuing suit filed against company in Southern District of New York.

MAY 15—Officials and sub-regional directors of S.W.O.C. meet in Pittsburgh; will seek unionization of four big independent steel companies (Republic Steel Company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Crucible Steel Corporation of America, Inland Steel Company).

Mr. J. Borden Harriman, of New York, sworn in as Minister to Norway.

MAY 16—A. F. of L. plans nationwide drive to organize transit workers in war against C.I.O.

MAY 17—U. S. Supreme Court upholds Louisiana State tax on chain stores in 4 to 3 decision.

Officials of Republic Steel Company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company opposed to "closed shop"; prefer immediate "showdown."

U. S. State Department bars proposed transatlantic air race commemorating tenth anniversary of Colonel Lindbergh's flight to Paris; held needless risk of life.

Congress gets new act embodying aims of AAA, invalidated by Supreme Court.

U. S. Supreme Court declines to rule right of Anniston Manufacturing Company of Alabama, to recover invalidated AAA taxes.

MAY 18—Justice Willis Van Devanter to resign from Supreme Court June 2; member of Court for 26 years.

Senate Judiciary Committee gives unfavorable report on President Roosevelt's Court reform plan, by 10-8 vote.

George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, scores Nazi government.

MAY 19—Opponents of President Roosevelt's Court reform plan press compromise as Justice Van Devanter resigns.

Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, leading candidate for Supreme Court bench.

President Roosevelt vetoes Merritt bill for $5,000,000 Federal participation in New York 1939 World's Fair; bill held unconstitutional.

Strikers of Consumers' Power Company, in Saginaw Valley, Michigan, return to work at demand of Governor Murphy; strike paralyzes Flint, Bay City, Saginaw, and 200 smaller communities; negotiations to begin in Governor Murphy's office; strike under auspices of United Automobile Workers of America; seek basic union pay.

President Roosevelt names Sumner Welles Under-Secretary of State; R. Walton Moore named Counselor of State Department.

MAY 20—Senate votes permanent Civilian Conservation Corp, barring House bill to limit life of Corps to two years.

Editors of Catholic publication declare war to end communism.

MAY 21—New Deal Administration drafts Labor Bill to embrace minimum hours and wages.

C.I.O. wins by two-to-one vote for exclusive bargaining in Jones & Laughlin plants.

Illinois miners sit-down 360 feet below ground in share work strike.

C.I.O. warns landlords in Pontiac, Michigan, of impending rent strike.

MAY 22—Striking Illinois miners holding pit 360 feet below ground agree to confer.

Independent steel companies defy Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull pledge to work for peace.

MAY 23—John D. Rockefeller Sr. dies at 97 in Florida.

MAY 25—Auto union drive in conjunction with C.I.O. on Ford seeks six-hour day and $5 pay.

Administration reveals plan to extend Social Security to 4,500,000 additional workers.

House of Representatives revolts on relief; earmarks $404,000,000 of appropriation.

Cabinet members urge export of helium for commercial ships.

MAY 26—Ford employes beat C.I.O. organizers at Detroit; single out Richard T. Frankensteen director of membership drive for special slugging.

Steel Worker's Organizing Committee issues strike order in 27 steel mills; 75,000 workers involved.

U. S. State Department silent on Mussolini's arms conference plan.

MAY 27—President Roosevelt asks Congress to "extend the frontiers of social progress" by enacting a maximum hour-minimum wage law which also would abolish child labor.

A. F. of L. accuses C.I.O. head of communistic leanings.

New strike called at Chevrolet shop at Saginaw, Mich.

Union and Crucible Steel Corporation sign agreement with C.I.O.

U. S. Supreme Court holds Social Security Act constitutional by 5-4 vote; Pension section of act held valid by 7-2 vote.

MAY 27—Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York signs with Transport Workers Union, C.I.O. affiliate; 14,000 get pay raise.

Jesse H. Jones, Chairman of Reconstruction Finance Corporation advocates elimination of railroad holding companies.

MAY 28—Police attack 1,000 steel strikers as they march on Republic Steel Corporation in Chicago; twenty strikers seriously injured.

Union leaders plan new drive on Ford plants.

President Roosevelt starts tax evasion fight; loss put at $400,000,000.

MAY 29—Republic Steel Corporation at Youngstown, Ohio, is placed under siege by aroused workers.

Administration hopes to recover $100,000,000 from tax dodgers.

MAY 30—Police kill four workers and injure eighty-four more as C.I.O. strikers march on Republic Steel plant in South Chicago.

Youngstown steel strikers continue siege.

MAY 31—Chicago steel strike deaths rise to 5; Governor Henry Horner intervenes.

Socialists protest communist participation in relief.

JUNE 1—900 police guard Chicago steel strike area; Republic Steel Corporation to resume operations without negotiations.

Planes land food inside of Republic Steel grounds under sniper's fire.

C.I.O. council plans to organize all East Coast maritime workers.

Associate Justice Van Devanter retires from Supreme Court bench.

Congress overrides President's veto of war insurance extension to 23,000 veterans.

JUNE 2—Sniper's bullets end the use of food planes to workmen within Republic Steel plants in Ohio.

C.I.O. lawyers take depositions of Chicago strikers concerning fatal riot.

JUNE 3—Steel Workers Organizing Committee moves to close Republic Steel plants still operating by cutting off ore supplies.

More than 7,000 workers attend mass burial of South Chicago steel strikers killed by police.

President Roosevelt asks Congress for seven regional power agencies modeled after Tennessee Valley Authority.

Senator Truman of Missouri assails bankers as the "vultures" who devour railroad receiverships; names J. P. Morgan; Speyer & Company, J. & W. Seligman & Company.

JUNE 4—Steel strike in Chicago area stalemated; Republic Steel to fight union in Court over mail curb.

President Roosevelt criticizes bench; early action on court bill anticipated.

JUNE 5—C.I.O. announces plan to organize civil service employes.

Loyal Ford workers organize their own union.

Mayor Edward J. Kelly orders the Republic Steel Corporation to cease housing workers in South Chicago plant; violation of city housing laws.

JUNE 6—Baltimore & Ohio Railroad press a protest with Ohio Governor Davey, to insure operation without striker interference.

Steel strikers' committee petitions President Roosevelt to act at once to end strike.

Mayor La Guardia of New York pledges his aid to make city 100 per cent union.

A. F. of L. declares open war on C.I.O. in drive to unionize Quebec steel industry.

JUNE 7—United Automobile Workers of America seize control of part of Lansing, Michigan, state capital; demonstrate against arrest of eight pickets.

President Roosevelt refuses to intervene in steel strikes.

Nine C.I.O. workers sentenced to jail in Lewiston, Maine, for conspiracy to injure business.

JUNE 8—Mayor Daniel Knaggs of Monroe, Mich. issues call for armed volunteers to forcibly reopen Newton Steel Company, a subsidiary of Republic Steel Corporation.

Eighth strike victim of Chicago police, dies.
Thirty-nine C.I.O. workers sentenced to jail by Judge Theodore Forby at Waukegan, Illinois, for February sit-down strike in Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation in North Chicago.
President Roosevelt asks Congress for $160,000,000 subsidy for new merchant ships.

JUNE 9—Power house employes cut power in Saginaw Valley, Michigan; affecting 500,000 workers.
Governor Davey, Ohio, invites steel employers and C.I.O. leaders to peace conference.

JUNE 10—Special police smash C.I.O. picket lines at Monroe, Mich.; reopen steel plant.

SPAIN

MAY 11—Report rebels 6 miles from Bilbao; Bilbao bombed eleven times during day.

MAY 13—British destroyer *Hunter* in blast off port of Almeria; unit of international non-intervention sea patrol; believed to have hit mine.

MAY 15—Cabinet of Valencia government resigns; Premier Largo Caballero to form new cabinet, at request of President Manuel Azana.
Rebels bomb Valencia.

MAY 16—Largo Caballero, balked in effort to form new cabinet, resigns; communists object to his holding of National Defense portfolio.

MAY 17—Basques hold off Rebels in bitter defense of Bilbao; Rebels drive at triple line of defense.
Dr. Juan Negrin, Socialist, forms new cabinet; Largo Caballero not included.

MAY 18—Rebels enter Amorebieta, nine miles southeast of Bilbao; town in flames after incendiary bombing.
Socialist-communist labor unions back Premier Negrin; only anarchists in open opposition.

MAY 19—Munguia heavily bombed by Rebel flyers in drive on Bilbao; Basque lines and Bilbao suburbs bombed.

MAY 20—Four thousand girl refugees embark at Bilbao for England.

MAY 21—Juan March sails to ask Mussolini not to end aid to Rebels.
Rebels strafe roads inside Bilbao fortifications.
Reported $50,000,000 in Basque treasure shipped to France.

MAY 22—Report on Spain drawn up by non-intervention committee.
Loyalists attack in three sections to divert Rebels from Bilbao.

MAY 23—Rebels drive Basques from strategic position at Lemona.
3,000 Basque children under care for malnutrition and hysteria in England.

MAY 25—Spanish Anarchists reported to have seized Huesca killing 100.

MAY 26—Spanish Rebel planes shoot down French commercial transport near Bilbao.
New supplies reach Madrid easing food crisis.

MAY 27—Spanish Government appeals to League to act upon Italian aggression.

MAY 28—Rebel planes bomb Valencia; 200 dead; British ships hit.
Basques halt Rebels south of Bilbao; launch counter attack.

MAY 29—Spanish Loyalists bomb and damage German warship *Deutschland*.
Rebel planes bomb Barcelona, killing 70 and wounding 100.

MAY 30—Germany to retaliate for *Deutschland* bombing; to act in concert with Italy against Spanish Government.

MAY 31—Four German warships shell Almería, Spain, killing 20; Germany advises that bombardment appeases honor; plans no more reprisals.
Senator Borah seeks application of neutrality legislation against intervening power in Spain.

JUNE 1—Italian warships plan to halt all vessels taking arms to Loyalists.
Secretary of State Cordell Hull appeals to Germany and Spain for peaceful solution.

JUNE 2—Tension over Spain diminishes as Britain pushes safety zone plan for all powers.
Marshal Werner von Blomberg and Mussolini confer in Rome on Spanish situation.
Loyalists press along Segonia front; report 6 miles away from city.

JUNE 3—General Mola, Franco's chief aide, killed in air crash outside Bilbao.
Britain submits new plan for Spanish naval patrol.

JUNE 4—Rebels mass guns for bombardment of Bilbao; Madrid shelled.

JUNE 5—Italy accepts in principle new plan for Spanish arms control.
Spanish rebels halt and board French fishing boat at sea.

JUNE 6—Planes and artillery assist Rebels in recapturing Lemona hills.

JUNE 7—Sixty-three Rebel planes bomb suburbs of Bilbao.

JUNE 8—Rebels open drive on Cordoba region.

JUNE 9—Silence surrounds Rebel drive in Cordoba region.

INTERNATIONAL

MAY 13—British destroyer *Hunter* damaged while on Spanish non-intervention patrol by mine, torpedo, or bomb.

MAY 14—At opening of Imperial Conference in London, Premier Lyons of Australia urges a Pacific pact, to include Japan; Prime Minister Hertzog calls for new definition of Dominion nationality; Prime Minister MacKenzie King of Canada urges non-exclusive trade policy, in agreement with U.S.A. tariff policy.

MAY 17—Dr. Guido Schmidt, Austrian Foreign Minister, to visit Paris on return from England to ask guarantee against German aggression.

MAY 19—Austria reported to have rejected French proposal that she join the Little Entente to strengthen anti-Fascist powers.

Imperial Conference hears Mr. Eden's views on foreign situation.

MAY 20—Dominion bankers discuss gold problem at Imperial Conference, time held not ripe for action.

Juan March, Spanish millionaire tobacco king and chief backer of Rebels, leaves for Italy, reportedly to ask Mussolini not to withdraw Italian volunteers.

MAY 23—Germany declares herself willing to support British proposal for an armistice in Spain.

MAY 24—Ninety-Seventh session of League of Nations opens; British to propose force in Spain, which Germany and Italy would postpone till after drive on Bilbao, and which Valencia Government will now consider.

Imperial Conference takes up question of coordination of defense.

Twenty-nine nations spending $20,000 a minute on war preparations as Europe hastens rearmament.

MAY 25—French transport plane shot down by Rebel planes near Bilbao; Non-Intervention Committee adopts plan for evacuation of foreigners from Spain.

Members of Imperial Conference study pooling of resources in event of war.

At Geneva, Valencia delegation agrees to withdrawal of foreign assistance if Franco abides by it.

MAY 31—Loyalist bombing of German battleship *Deutschland* precipitates international crises; five German warships bomb Almeria in reprisal; Germany and Italy quit non-intervention patrol.

JUNE 1—Italian warships will stop ships carrying arms to loyalists.

JUNE 2—Tension over Spanish situation eases; England and France propose unified neutral patrol.

JUNE 3—British offer scheme of safety zones around Spain to persuade Germany and Italy to return to non-intervention committee.

JUNE 4—Italians accept with reservations British plan for Spanish patrol.

JUNE 6—Filipino sugar planters and international financiers fight against independence.

JUNE 9—Britain accuses the Spanish Rebels of mining the destroyer *Hunter*.

JUNE 10—Italy and Germany agree to Britain's Spain patrol changes.

FOREIGN

Albania

MAY 14—Armando Salles de Olivia to be Constitutionalista party candidate for Presidency, in opposition to President Vargos.

MAY 16—Rebellion breaks out in South, capitalizing upon Mohammedan resentment of King Zog's orders for unveiling of women; no Greek or Yugoslav influences suspected.

MAY 19—Martial law to be raised to permit passage of two constitutional amendments.

MAY 23—Situation calmer, as Governor Valladares, self-appointed coordinator of public opinion, smooths over differences between factions.

MAY 25—Jose Americao de Almerda unanimously nominated as official candidate for Presidency; President Vargas' retirement now assured; official, independent, and Fascist candidates now in field.

Canada

JUNE 2—British Columbia's Liberal Government re-elected to office with 31 seats out of 48 in provincial legislature; Conservatives gain eight seats, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation six.

JUNE 4—Mitchell Hepburn, Liberal Premier of Ontario, dissociates his government from the Federal Liberal Party, to cooperate with Premier Duplessis of Quebec in semi-fascist movement.

Cuba

MAY 30—Sweeping Amnesty Bill, pardoning all offenses up to May 20, 1937, passed by House of Representatives, former President Machado to be freed.

France

MAY 23—Paris exposition opens, after construction delays caused by labor trouble.

MAY 26—Jacques Donot, leader of the Rightist Popular Party, removed from office as Mayor of St. Denis by Ministry of the Interior on charges of irregular awarding of contracts.

MAY 25—Finance Minister Vincent Auriol assures critics that treasury is sound.

JUNE 3—Duke of Windsor and Mrs. Wallis Warfield married at Monts in French civil ceremony.

Germany

MAY 13—Work speeded on strong new fortifications on Baltic Coast.

Tariff of 100% is placed on imported natural rubber to finance domestic production of artificial substitute.

MAY 21—Import and export trade for April sets new record for Nazi regime. As British and French trade deficits for same period increased, little hope seen of Germany abandoning present trade policies.

MAY 23—Catholic bishops declare war on Nazi youth groups; appeal to be made to Catholic youths to join Catholic societies.

MAY 26—All five members of executive committee of Synod's provisional Church government assisted; new crisis reached in Nazi-Protestant relations.

JUNE 4—Helmuth Hirsch, 21-year-old U. S. citizen convicted of bringing bombs into Germany, guillotined.

JUNE 6—Catholic and Nazi youth riot in Munich; ten more priests arrested on immorality charges.

Hitler tells 120,000 Nazis that military arms help to preserve peace.

JUNE 7—High German court rules that church is subject to orders of police.

Mussolini receives high German decoration from Hitler.

JUNE 8—Nazi press commands loyal Germans to choose between Hitler and the Vatican.

JUNE 9—Pope promises pilgrims to Rome that he will continue to aid Catholics in the Reich.

Rev. Martin Niemoeller bars Jaochim von Ribbentrop from rejoining Anglican church.

Great Britain

MAY 11—Cabinet and Church oppose Royal attendance at Duke of Windsor's wedding.

MAY 12—King George VI crowned in Westminster Abbey; over 1,000,000 watch procession; in broadcast, King promises reign like that of his father.

MAY 18—Duke of Windsor to marry June 3; Royal Family not to be present.

MAY 20—King George VI reviews fleet of 158 warships at Spithead.

MAY 24—Neville Chamberlain stands firm on stiff profits tax, despite all attacks.

MAY 26—London sees strike ends; men called back on old 8-hour schedule pending new contracts.

MAY 30—Neville Chamberlain wins support of Winston Churchill, who will second resolution naming him head of Conservative Party.

MAY 31—In first speech as Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain pledges himself to reconciliation en Europe and unity at home.

JUNE 1—Neville Chamberlain drop profits tax in favor of "simpler" scheme that will be equally productive.

JUNE 7—British foreign office concerned with Italian activity among Palestine Arabs.

JUNE 8—150 Conservative M.P.'s fiercely oppose British-American trade pact.

JUNE 9—Britain threatens a forced partition of Palestine into two States; to segregate Arabs and Jews.

Japan

MAY 14—New Cabinet Planning Board to guide and coordinate rather than control business.

MAY 19—Pacific peace pact proposed by Australia received unenthusiastically.

Resignation of Hayashi cabinet expected.

MAY 23—Rightists urge Premier Hayashi to retain power, as political parties consider a united front against the Government.

MAY 31—Premier Hayashi resigns as result of failure to reach agreement with political parties.

JUNE 4—Prince Fumimaro Konoe, new Prime Minister, includes two members of political parties in cabinet; finance portfolio presents problem.

Mexico

MAY 13—New tax law declares 35% of gross sales of foreign companies not maintaining branches to be profits and heavily taxable.

MAY 17—Oil workers' wages increased by $2,000,000 to avert threatened strike.

MAY 18—Governor Manero of Tobasco, most strongly anti-Church state, pledges policy of conciliation towards Church.

MAY 20—John L. Lewis of C.I.O. to visit Mexico; cooperation between Mexican and U. S. unions in prospect.

JUNE 2—President Cardenas demands that employers and unions reach agreement over oil strike within 24 hours.

JUNE 7—Mexican oil strike ends; concessions made by Cardenas.

JUNE 8—New strike threatened as Mexican oil company refuses pay rise; workers ordered to stay on job.

The Netherlands

MAY 26—Electorate endorses Premier Hendryk Coligns' "policy of adaptation to the economic crisis": National Socialists suffer setback, Liberal Democratic Party gains in elections in both houses of the States General.

Russia

MAY 11—Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Vice Commissar of Defense, demoted to command of obscure Volga military district.

MAY 16—Trade union chiefs arrested on charges of malfeasance, sabotage, and Trotskyism.

MAY 17—Supreme military councils established.

MAY 20—Forty-four citizens shot on charges of espionage and sabotage on trans-Siberian railway and of Trotskyism.

MAY 22—More than 20 anti-Government plotters reported executed.

Soviet Union claims North Pole, as Professor Schmidt and party set up camp on polar ice.

MAY 23—Summer flight planned from Moscow to San Francisco, using new polar air bases.

JUNE 5—Marshal I. B. Gamarink, Assistant Commissar of Defense, and others, yet unnamed, accused of Trotskyism.

JUNE 9—Purge of Red Army hinted in the removal of four Generals; arrests of many officers of lesser rank rumored.

Italy

MAY 25—Premier Mussolini's Milan newspaper demands that Italian Jews uphold fascism or leave the country.

This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

Spotlights on Canada pick out four urgent topics which are affecting the future of a good neighbor as well as her relations with this country. It is nearly two years since Mr. Aberhart was elected Premier of Alberta; he failed in his Utopian promises, and his fate is now in the balance. **Burton T. Richardson,** who contributes the vivid article, *The Truth About Aberhart,* writes, "For more than a year I have been on a watching brief for the *Winnipeg Free Press* in Alberta, where newsmen are rated as social lepers." However, he has overcome that handicap with eminent success in disclosing the real nature of the social credit movement. **James H. Gray,** the author of *Canada's Santa Claus: F. D. R.,* is also a *Winnipeg Free Press* writer as well as being a contributor to *The Nation, Harper's,* and other American publications. Of the amazing results of the President's gold bill on the Canadian mining industry he remarks that Canadians are grateful to F. D. R. for what he has done for them without trying, and they hate to think what he could accomplish in Canada if he really set his mind to it! The third article, *The C.I.O. Comes to Canada,* is a timely analysis of all the fuss over the Oshawa General Motors strike; it surveys the whole Canadian labor movement and estimates the chances of industrial unionism north of the border. **Graham Spry,** an editor of *The Canadian Forum,* has been unflaggingly active in politics and publishing and writes of the labor situation with authority and first-hand knowledge. In *Canada Between Two Worlds,* the editors survey the Canadian background of the Imperial Conference.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act has brought up the whole problem of the future—both economic and strategic—of the Philippines, and Americans are wondering how independence will work, especially in the face of the threat from Japan. **William Henry Chamberlin,** the Tokyo correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* and author of *Collectivism: A False Utopia* (Macmillan's) among other works, presents a masterly and lucid analysis of the whole situation in *Puzzle in the Philippines.*

There is no need to introduce **Emil Ludwig,** whose latest distinguished work was *The Nile* (Viking Press). His article in this issue, *Old Egypt Grows Up,* is a fascinating by-product of the time he spent in that country while writing his book. It is a fitting tribute to Egypt's election as a member of the League of Nations.

Radio for entertainment represents a surprisingly small part of the whole picture of radio communication, but it throws up innumerable problems, with which the Federal Commerce Commission is grappling. Here is the whole problem clearly laid out for inspection—by **W. Carroll Munro,** an associate editor of *Current History* who writes *Empire of the Air.*

As we go to press, the news arrives that eight Russian generals are to be secretly tried. The whole background of the hysterical clean-up taking place—especially as regards the Army—is illuminatingly portrayed by **Eugene Lyons** in *Stalin's Purge: A War Measure.* Mr. Lyons, a former Russian correspondent, is the editor of the recently published *We Cover the World* (Harcourt, Brace) and author of *Moscow Carrousel.* His *Assignment in Utopia* will be published in the early Fall by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

They say that man is a warlike beast, always trying to get at his neighbor's throat. **Mauritz A. Hallgren** shows conclusively that, on the contrary, it is extremely difficult to get him to fight at all, in *Men Do Not Like War.* Mr. Hallgren is on the editorial staff of the Baltimore *Sun* and is the author of *The Tragic Fallacy: A Study of America's War Policies* (A. A. Knopf).

Herr Hitler has just announced that all German mothers, married or unmarried, may assume the title of *Frau.* **Walter Brockman,** an American correspondent in Germany for six years, made a wide study of social conditions there and describes in *Illegitimacy in Germany* just why there are so many unmarried *Fraus.*

Lawrence A. Fernsworth, the London and New York *Times* correspondent in Spain, contributes another absorbing article on the war. This time he presents a series of lively, human snapshots of the Anarchists. You will find *La Comarada Maria,* the heroine of *With the Spanish Anarchists,* an intriguing personality.

Indians have given Mexico a rich cultural heritage; they have also presented a serious social and economic problem. **Maurice Halperin,** of the University of Oklahoma, who is shortly bringing out a book on Mexico, describes the New Deal introduced for Mexico's Indians in *Mexico's Melting-Pot.*

Harry Tipper, a member of the editorial advisory board of *Current History,* surveys the future for America's foreign trade in *Our Score in Trade.*

J. C. Le Clair, a member of the faculty of City College of New York and a previous contributor to *Current History,* describes the growth of a little-known nation in *A Future for Iran.*

T R A V E L

Where History Is in the Making

IN THE popular mind, Finland rates above all other countries as a "land of lakes." Yet Canada is even more a country of waters than the Scandinavian republic. For strewn lavishly over its broad surface are countless thousands of lakes and hundreds of rivers of all sizes. Of these, Americans are most familiar with the Great Lakes, Niagara Falls, and the St. Lawrence River, the last of which is the site of the much-discussed waterways project. But farther to the North, East, and West are other lakes, falls, and rivers, not as famous, perhaps, but which concede little in beauty and size, if not in economic importance.

The greatest waterways in Canada are those of the St. Lawrence System. The river itself was accidentally discovered by Jacques Cartier, a French navigator, less than fifty years after Columbus happened upon a new continent. But it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the St. Lawrence regions were charted more extensively. Samuel de Champlain —first great name in Canadian history—was the explorer and, sailing up the river, he helped to found the first permanent French colony in North America. This colony is now known as Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

Champlain's fur-trading expeditions took him southward from the St. Lawrence to the beautiful lake now bearing his name. The French explorer pushed westward, too, up the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, to Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. But he stopped there, not realizing that many other great lakes stretched still farther west. This penetration westward was accomplished not much later by Radisson and Groseillers, French explorers who were probably the first Europeans to press as far into the interior of the Continent as the Mississippi. The next few years saw a mission established on the shores of Lake Superior and the exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette. The missionaries did not stop at Lake Superior but moved on to Lake Michigan and what is now known as the Canadian West.

Subsequent discoveries and geographical surveys up through history have confirmed one of the main observations of the earliest explorers: Canada was a land of many waters. As late as the turn of the twentieth century new lakes were still being [illegible]. Today, Canada is known to have more lake-filled country than Scandinavia or even East Africa, the latter of whose lakes may compare with Canada in size but not in numbers. Canada's lakes range from hundreds of miles in length and thousands of feet in depth to hidden forest ponds the size of a city block and of wading depth.

Geologists tell us that the cause of Canada's innumerable lakes and waterfalls can be traced to the retreat of the ice after the glacial period, when the original waterways were blocked in many places. Many of the larger lakes have rocky shores and islands, but the smaller ones are outlined with marshes and a number of them are slowly filling up with vegetable matter and will eventually become peat bogs.

The largest lakes, both in size and number, occur within a distance of a thousand miles of Hudson Bay. Most familiar, of course, are the Great Lakes, but there are more than a dozen others of equal or even larger size about which comparatively little is known. In addition, there are nine lakes having a length of 100 miles or more and 35 which are more than 50 miles long. Most of the lakes run into long, irregular bays and surround large numbers of islands; the Georgian Bay and Lake of Woods, for example, have islands running into the thousands. In the Cordilleran region, however, the lakes are fingered in shape, in reality being sections of mountain valleys filled in by fresh water.

Canada is one of the few countries in which one is able to travel for hundreds of miles by canoe. Many of the lakes spill over into lower basins, making a long link of lakes. In cases where the joining rapids are too steep, canoeists negotiate the span by carrying their boats and equipment along the shore. The system of interlocking lakes has not simplified their identification for it is often difficult to recognize where the link is large enough to warrant calling the next lake by a new name. The St. Lawrence River begins as the Nipigon River and along various parts of its course takes the names of St. Mary's, St. Clair, Detroit, and Niagara, before flowing out from Lake Ontario to the sea. The St. Lawrence is by far Canada's most important river, a water highway of trade between two nations as well as between the interior of the continent and the seaports of Montreal and Quebec.

The largest of the rivers north of the divide

between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay is the Nelson, which drains the great Manitoban Lakes, Winnipeg, Winnipegosis, and Manitoba. Other large rivers in this area, not as easily adapted to navigation as the Nelson, are the Whale, Big, East Main, Rupert, Nottaway, Moose, Albany, Severn, and Churchill.

The Mackenzie River, in the northwest section of the country, has a length of more than 2000 miles, of which approximately one-half is navigable for passenger and freight service. But like other northward-flowing rivers, it bears little traffic except for the northern-fur-trading posts. The Mackenzie has its beginnings in the Great Slave Lake, which in turn is traced back to the Slave River, Athabasca Lake, and Peace River. The second greatest river in the great Canadian northwest is the Yukon, which sets out from an arm on the Pacific, just within the border and about 20 miles from the sea. Beginning 2800 feet above the sea and flowing north, the Yukon changes its direction several times before passing out of the Yukon territory into Alaska and pouring out into the Bering Sea, a journey of 2000 miles from its head waters. The story of the Yukon is the story of gold rushes, exploration, and adventure. Route to the Klondike, the Yukon has carried thousands of gold-hungry prospectors to their fortunes, and sometimes to their graves.

The two most important southern waterways are the Columbia and the Fraser. The former is the largest of the two and continues southward into the United States; the Fraser follows an almost similar course, passing into the sea at Vancouver. A number of other rivers in the southern part of Canada, particularly British Columbia, is suitable for navigation. Of these, the Skeena and the Stikine serve the posts and mining camps of the interior.

The rivers flowing north and those west divide sharply in the southern Rocky Mountains. Near this divide are two lakes, the Committee's Punch Bowl and Lake Fortress, sending their waters east and west. And the flow into the tributaries of the neighboring rivers is augmented by the melting snows of a mountain nearby Lake Fortress. The drain is in three directions: towards the tributaries of the Columbia, the Saskatchewan, and the Athabasca, being thus distributed between the Pacific and Arctic Oceans and the Hudson Bay.

With the exception of the St. Lawrence, site of the gigantic project, Canada's rivers have been steadily losing their importance in trade, commerce, and transportation since the turn of the century. Yet this decline has been more than compensated for by the hydro-electric power projects made possible by the many high waterfalls along the course of the rivers. And the intricate manner in which these rivers drain Canada has been a source of geographic wonderment.

Exposition in Texas

THE first practical application of the "good neighbor" idea, as advanced by President Roosevelt, between the peoples of the western world will be noted in the Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition which has opened in Dallas.

In a $25,000,000 plant, pageant, diorama, music and exhibits portray the progress of all the nations of the western hemisphere since the landing of Columbus in 1492. The theme of the showing is centered around the reciprocal trade

INTERLOCKING LAKES: Canada, a land of lakes, has many bodies of water linked by waterfalls, as in the case of Lake Louise above.

and cultural relations between the republic of the north and Central and South America. In recognition of Latin participation in the Exposition, architects have converted the grounds into an ensemble of the romance, architecture, native flowers, trees and landscaping of these nations, costing several hundred thousand dollars.

A permanent building within the main plant houses a great Pan American exhibit. displaying the culture and achievements of all the nations. Operating as a clearing house of information it is expected to prove a powerful factor in improving friendly understanding among the peoples in the Pan-American groups. In another permanent building music, classical and popular, will be brought from every corner of the western world. Here also will be presented popular plays and theatricals, reminiscent of the romantic past of the South American continent.

An outstanding contribution to the Latin American theme of the Exposition is the pageant, "Cavalcade of the Americas." Liberation will be the theme of this drama, an outgrowth of the "Cavalcade of Texas," which played to record crowds at the Texas Centennial Exposition, and which was hailed by critics as one of the finest productions of its nature ever staged. The pageant begins with the time of Christopher Columbus and ends with the recent Pan American peace and trade conference in Buenos Aires. In the 500 years to be covered, all the drama and struggle of the people in a new country, building a new civilization, is recounted. The background is a realistic Aztec sacrificial scene in the hills of Tenochtitlan. Balboa's discovery of the Pacific, Cortez' conquest of Mexico, the death of Montezuma, and the raising of the cross on the ancient hills of the City of Mexico will be outstanding scenes.

The plant of the Exposition is housed in practically 100 per cent air-cooled buildings, most of which are permanent structures. The Hall of Latin American republics alone has a floor space of 60,000 square feet. Its brilliant colorings and architecture will be representative of these countries. Close by will be a Mexican Village, lending its color to the international scene.

While the Latin relationship will be an important factor throughout the Exposition, Texas,

the Southwest, and all of North America have special attention. In its own building, the Federal government is participating with the greatest display of its activities ever sent from Washington. Texas' Hall of State, costing more than $1,000,000, presents the history and commercial progress of the Lone Star. The multi-billion dollar undeveloped natural resources of the State is being shown and convincingly presented as to commercial possibilities. An agrarian center gives the visitor a thorough knowledge of the great agricultural and livestock resources of the State.

The recently-completed all-weather Pan American highway, crossing the most densely populated areas of the United States from the Canadian border to the City of Mexico is attracting many thousands of visitors. Border restrictions being at a minimum, those bringing their automobiles will have no difficulty in getting the vehicles across the international boundary at Laredo. Every courtesy has been guaranteed by the Mexican government, which intends to operate information bureaus both within the United States and along the highway for the convenience of visitors.

HERE AND THERE

MONTMARTE, the famed artistic center, is the focal point for visitors at the Paris Exhibition. The district's history reaches back to the days of the Romans. Until the French Revolution, Montmarte was a village extending southward to Notre Dame de Lorette. It was there that Napoleon's destiny was decided, when the Allied troops stormed the hill. One of Montmarte's most precious relics is the "Chateau des Brouillards" in the Rue Girardon, once a "folly" of the eighteenth century, made famous by the poet Gerard de Nerval. Among the artists who have worked and lived in Montmarte are Manet, Renoir, Degas, Monet, and the great Van Gogh.

Tips to travelers by Douglas Malcolm, of the American Express Travel Service:

Don't shout at bewildered foreigners if they do not understand English. Many travelers still exercise the "deaf and dumb" tactics and believe that those who do not speak English will more easily comprehend the language if it is vociferously shouted at them. Always phrase your question in simple language and speak slowly and in a low voice. If in a party let only one be your spokesman.

Forego criticism of another country's monetary system. Many tourists have brought disrespect to themselves by a flippant or cynical reference to a foreign nation's currency.

Limit the amount of your baggage to as few pieces as possible, and make certain to have your name and address plainly printed on every item, especially cameras, umbrellas, typewriters, etc.

Remember that there are set standards for tips and service abroad, but do not forget that shopping has no fixed price standards and that foreign store-keepers rather expect you to bargain.

The World in Books

(Continued from page 7)

Although Mr. Wittmer subtitles his book "A Guide to the Next War," he resists the temptation of drawing up sides for the coming conflict, which, incidentally, he believes to be inevitable. But those readers disappointed in finding that his guide to the next war ends in a detour when it comes to determining who will fight whom, may have the consolation of knowing that even Europe's brightest statesmen have not been able to find the answer.

There is little of the optimist about Felix Wittmer. War is already on its way, like an overdue package, and the only thing to do is to wait for its arrival. Europe may find it on its doorstep before the year is out. Perhaps war may be delayed "once again," but there is "little hope for its final aversion." "The truth is that nothing short of a miracle will save Europe from an abyss more dreadful than that of the World War."

In the face of Felix Wittmer's certainty of disaster, there is reason to recall that each of the last six years was incorrectly scheduled for a World War. Though we may be tottering on the brink and though our footing is beginning to slip we have not yet plunged into the pit. At least, there is the chance that we may fall the other way and land on the pillows of peace. It would seem, too, that little can be gained by concentrating all our attention upon an invisible handwriting on the wall, while we may be putting the time to better advantage in fighting the conditions which make for war.

Tenderness is hardly an attribute of Mr. Wittmer. He sees insincerity and hypocrisy in every corner. All the world wears a false smile and carries a set of brass knuckles behind its back. England would not be above dropping France as an ally if the bait were large enough. France would not be above dropping England for the same reason. Hitler would stall off Mussolini in a minute and enter into horse-trading with Stalin, with a view to double-crossing them both. But even cynicism can be self-redeeming. Consider Mr. Wittmer's closing paragraph:

"If we believe some of the most big-mouthed leaders in Europe, it must be more beautiful to die than to live. Perhaps they are right. Today they claim that their people stand behind them. In the war, of course, the leaders will stand behind their people."

It is somewhat encouraging, after Mr. Wittmer's downpour of despair, to read *A Good Word for Democracy*, by S. E. Forman, or an essay such as that contributed by Professor P. M. S. Blackett in *What is Ahead of Us?*—a little volume consisting of chapters by leading experts on the future of world politics. Professor Blackett, in a chapter on "The Next War: Can It Be Avoided?" takes a definite stand for the affirmative. Democracy holds the key to peace. If all the peoples of the democratic nations stand shoulder to shoulder against Germany, which Dr. Blackett regards as the chief threat to peace, war can be averted.

Other equally illuminating chapters in *What is Ahead of Us?* are contributed by G. D. H. Cole, Sidney Webb, Wickham Steed, Sir Arthur Slater, and Professor Lancelot Hogben. And their topics, in the same order, are the futures of capitalism, economic nationalism, dictatorships, Soviet communism, and human survival.

The volume is based upon a recent series in the annual Fabian Lectures, only a few of which have ever been published, despite the long life of the Lectures.

As a group, the essays in *What is Ahead of Us?* present an effective and sound argument for an enlightened liberalism. Each of the contributors is a qualified authority and each writes against a background of long experience.

Dr. Forman's good word for democracy is, simply, "faith." Overlooking its shortcomings, the author is willing to accord democracy proper credit for charting a course that has no room for dictatorships and the by-products of the dictatorial state. He finds that democracy is constantly introducing reforms in the electoral machinery; is responsive to the programs for its own better-

ment, and is performing its economic tasks with a commendable efficiency. In short, the manner in which democracy is functioning has led Dr. Forman to exclaim: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; democracy, thou art still the hope of mankind!"

It has remained for a New Deal administration to lend the impetus for a revival of literature on the Constitution and the Supreme Court that has included such landmarks as Bancroft's *Formation of the Constitution* or George Ticknor Curtis' *Constitutional History of the United States.*

Two new works which may prove to be equally noteworthy are Charles Warren's *The Making of The Constitution* (reviewed in the May issue of *Current History*) and *The Bulwark of the Republic*, by Burton J. Hendrick. Deserving of high praise, too, is *The Supreme Court and the National Will*, by Dean Alfange.

Mr. Hendrick, a biographer of distinction, has sought to view the Constitution and the Supreme Court through the personalities contributing to its history, as well as through the biography of the document itself.

Flowing again through Mr. Hendrick's pages is the entire stream of Constitutional personalities—from Washington, Madison, and Marshall to Taney, Lincoln and Holmes. The Chief Justices Marshall and Holmes, each of whose tenure was a century apart, embody the spirit and achievements of the Constitution in their day, says the author. "It is a satisfaction that, though separated in time by a century, in thought and in aspiration they are so much akin. And the deep-seated reason is the same. They were both Americans . . . To Marshall and Holmes—one a soldier in the Revolution, one a soldier in the Civil War—the Constitution was great and worthy of protection and respect because it had created a Nation."

Mr. Hendrick's work takes the reader only as far as the earlier part of the twentieth century. In a detailed introduction, however, he indicates that the present dispute over the President's Supreme Court proposal will not serve to diminish the prestige of the Court. Despite the struggle today between the Executive and the Judiciary, he says, both Nation and Court will emerge without any loss to the people in popular liberties. The Supreme Court has been the subject of attack before and may see its "wings clipped again." But the flexibility of the Court and its ability to regain its high estate in the opinions of the people will enable it to survive the "present onslaught."

As manifestations of the Court's flexibility, Mr. Hendrick cites recent decisions which have been a direct about-face from previous judicial opinions. In the Washington minimum wage law, for example, Chief Justice Hughes, with a precedent-setting disregard of technicalities, declared that "the case of *Adkins* vs. *Children's Hospital* should be, and is, overruled."

Mr. Hendrick feels that the Supreme Court has seen a new light. It has "taken a stand in harmony with the best purposes in the modern world." Minimum wages for women,—probably also for men,—maximum hours of labor, will find no threat before the Court.

The Supreme Court and the National Will, winner of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Award, is the result of an attempt by Dean Alfange to reconcile two divergent loyalties: one to the Supreme Court as an institution above molestation; the other to the cause of social progress, as evidenced in the legislation of the New Deal. As a lawyer, he had come to look upon the Supreme Court as the least dispensable feature of American government. And as a believer in popu-

lar government, he was "disquieted" over the manner in which the processes of democratic government were being frustrated by the Court.

Examining the relationship of the executive and legislative branches to the judicial, Mr. Alfange finds that public opinion and confidence are the actual pillars upon which the Supreme Court rests. The main reason why the Court has survived its many battles is that it has enjoyed, by and large, the faith of the American people. Although a conservative institution, it can be of invaluable social use by retaining the public confidence. "Conservative institutions, especially in times of social crisis, must know how to bend in order not to break." Functioning wisely, the Court can help to bring about social change by consent and, at the same time, preserve the framework, the machinery, and the "habit" of free government.

THREE military figures are the subjects of the month's outstanding biographical works. Lord Carson's part in the World War is described by Ian Colvin in the third volume of *The Life of Lord Carson;* Winfield Scott, soldier and politician of a century ago, is the subject of Arthur D. Howden Smith's study in *Old Fuss and Feathers;* and Colonel T. Bentley Mott writes of his varied experiences with the United States War Department in *Twenty Years as Military Attaché.*

The concluding volume by Mr. Colvin on the life of one of Britain's ablest statesmen traces the last twenty years of Edward Carson's life—from the beginnings of the World War to Carson's death in 1935. Carson was in the center of the fight against Home Rule for Ireland, leading the opposition to the Third Home Rule Bill as head of the Irish Unionist Party. After the outbreak of the World War he joined the Asquith Coalition but resigned, in spite of the severest pressure, because he felt that the administration's indecision and procrastination in time of war might prove costly. The specific incident upon which his decision was based was the government's stand on the Serbian question in 1916.

Lord Carson, says the author, was content to let the world go by and enjoy the chat and the reading of his own fireside. Once, Lord Haldane asked him:

"What authors do you read most?"

"Edgar Wallace and P. G. Wodehouse."

"But don't you ever read difficult books?"

"No, I leave it to you to write them."

As a personality, [illegible] simple, strong, and passionate, easy and generous, as quick to forgi[illegible] to resent an injury. He was always himself, neither cold nor unreal, so that men said: 'You know where you had him,' and even in politics, which are full of malice, there were few who disliked him." Lloyd George once remarked that he wished he had Carson's courage.

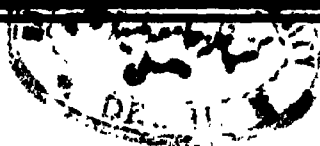
Mr. Colvin's biography is strongly sympathetic but does not engage in glorification merely for the sake of adding stature to its subject, for there was never any question of Carson's stature.

American history has tended too much to overlook one of its most colorful military figures—Winfield Scott, the man who never lost a battle. This lack of attention has its compensation in *Old Fuss and Feathers*, an engaging biography in which Mr. Smith gives General Scott credit for being the best soldier of his time. Scott fought every important battle from the War of 1812 up to the Civil War.

Mr. Smith points out that "Old Fuss and Feathers," as Scott was not unaffectionately called, was the only American commander who never lost a battle but the one victorious general who lost a presidential election. Scott was nominated for the presidency in 1852 over President Fillmore and Daniel Webster but lost the election to Franklin Pierce, who had served under him in the Mexican War.

More than any other man—even more than Sylvanus Thayer—Winfield Scott was the father of West Point, says the author. Every important leader in the Union and Confederate armies was trained by him, and Scott eventually earned the praise of the Duke of Wellington who refused to believe at first that this "poor young man" could win in Mexico. Later, Wellington called Scott's military successes in Mexico "unsurpassed in military annals." Scott had become "the greatest living soldier."

Rich in narrative power, *Twenty Years as Military Attaché* is the absorbing story of a type of military career that is not associated with front-line trenches nor bursting shells but with the mechanics of war diplomacy. Colonel Mott's first and perhaps most important experience as a military attaché was in Paris. After that, his duties brought him "into strange places and strange company, and some of the things that happened may be worth reading about." The author emphasizes that the work can not actually be called a biography, except in the sense that it may be biography of observations and relationships. As such, *Twenty Years as Military Attaché* is of definite value, for Colonel Mott attended important military conferences of the World War and was in a good position to analyze not only the forces behind the war's leading characters, but the men themselves as personalities.

Wheeler's Plight—*R. L. Neuberger*

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How Dangerous is Japan?

by Marc T. Greene

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N. B. Cousins
Literary Editor

The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
The Story of Dictatorship	E. E. Kellett	Dutton	$1.75
The Profits of War	Richard Lewinsohn	Dutton	$3.00
A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World		Oxford	$3.00
A History of the Art of War the 16th Century		Dutton	$6.00
The Road to Reunion		Little, Brown	$3.25
Integrity: The Life of Geor W. Norris		Vanguard	$3.00
Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots		Doubleday, Doran	$4.00
Christianity and Communis		Marshall Jones	$1.50
Africa and Christianity		Oxford	$2.25
A Puritan Outpost		Macmillan	$5.00

IT SEEMS that this business of fascism is old stuff and Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini, in addition to their other accomplishments, are out-and-out plagiarists. They have lifted their design for despotism right out of history, says E. E. Kellett in *The Story of Dictatorship*, a little book which says more in 200 pages than one might usually find in a shelf of volumes on the subject.

Mr. Kellett points out that the facilities available to an Il Duce or a Der Fuehrer today give them an ad[illegible]e over a Phalaris or a Dionysius of several [illegible] years ago. A twentieth-century dictator [illegible] have the gift of the radio and the press to ai[illegible] in blanketing the country with propaganda, but his message has not changed. The [illegible]nique may be a little more advanced[illegible]ilosophy remains the same. He st[illegible]iled fist and the fiction of [illegible] the divine right; the law [illegible]nd the same. Those who [illegible] law-breakers and must be [illegible]ssolini does not have the fire-pits of the ancient Greeks but disposes of his political prisoners on an Island of Lipari. A Hitler has his concentration camps and the more direct medium of purge.

Mr. Kellett discloses other strong similarities. Herr Hitler may or may not be surprised to learn that in 500 B.C. Cleisthenes destroyed certain religions and drew a smoke-screen over these activities by whipping the people into a lather of enthusiasm over the Olympic Games. Cleisthenes staked everything on victories in the Games—sparing no expense in training his drivers, runners, and boxers. And Dionysius, of ancient Sicily, rode the high road to power through the oratory of a demagogue, stirring up the people with eloquent word-pictures of better days. Dionysius, too, had a personal military force whose modern counterpart is the Schutz Staffel. He first persuaded the people that a small group of bodyguards was necessary after staging an imaginary conspiracy against his life. But the small group rapidly grew to a sizeable army whose strength was above challenge. A typical tyrant,

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Dionysius was suspicious of everyone and rather than trust even a barber, he cut his own hair.

It also appears that Mussolini showed a great lack of originality when he dispatched his butcher-battalions to Ethiopia for the supposed purpose of giving Italy a bigger place in the sun. Dictators down through history, it is apparent from Mr. Kellett's book, have sought to conceal internal calamity by external conquest. As far back as Agathocles the Sicilian, who, incidentally, also fought his "war of revenge" in Africa, it has been good strategy to unify a dissenting and disintegrating nation by beating the battle drums. Agathocles, in fact, seems to have served as a general all-around model for the Italian dictator. He came into power by posing as the one man who could save the State, and once having gained authority with a show of legality, slaughtered or banished his enemies. He kept the people busy at one thing or another, so they had no time to think and even less to conspire. He converted the organs of opinion into outlets for his own propaganda, and significantly, made military alliances with other tyrants—that is, unless they were weak enough to invite attack. Shades of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain!

And for other parallels to the Rome-Berlin axis, we turn to countless similar instances in history. One of the earliest, perhaps, is the agreement between Lygdamis and Peisistratus, tyrants of high standing in the sixth century, to join forces, attack a weak neighbor, and divide the spoils. Similarly, Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, gave assistance and refuge to Tarquin the Proud in his exile.

But lest it appear that *The Story of Dictatorship* is a comparison *in toto* of the very ancient despots and the very new, it is emphasized that Mr. Kellett's effort is concerned with the entire assortment of history's tyrants, allowing the reader to draw his own analogies. Such a treatment must necessarily make for a certain sketchiness, but Mr. Kellett would have had to abandon his central theme of a bird's eye view of dictatorship had he attempted to chronicle each of the individual careers of the dictators.

Rated according to brilliance in a parade of history's great tyrants, a Hitler or a Mussolini could hardly hope to be anything more than a back-row unit in a fife and drum corps. Here is a procession that has a Caesar, a Philip of Macedon, a Napoleon, a Machiavelli, an Oliver Cromwell, and a Savonarola. But on a basis of power and ruthlessness, the modern dictators are well up in the front ranks, apparently aiming to outmarch the entire parade.

The *Story of Dictatorship* is only one of a large number of recent books which have sought to clarify the layman's understanding of important aspects of world affairs by exploring their backgrounds. In this category would also come *The Profits of War* by Richard Lewinsohn, *A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World*, by C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, and *A History of the Art of War in the 16th Century*, by Sir Charles Oman.

It is customary to associate profits in war with the manufacturers of armaments. But Mr. Lewinsohn's work—an excellent supplementary volume to Philip Noel-Baker's *The Private Manufacture of Armaments* of several months ago—makes the point that this phase of war profiteering is relatively new. The dealers in death devices did not cut heavily into the division of the war profits until the nineteenth century. Before then, rulers, military commanders, financiers, and speculators exploited war as a get-rich-quick medium. Julius Caesar started his career in public office with obligations in debt amounting to 830 talents—about $2,000,000—but as the result of ten years of warfare amassed a fortune of 2250 talents, or about $6,500,000. William the Conqueror passed his last years with an annual income of $2,000,000—almost all of which was directly traceable to his military successes. Wallenstein's genius as a soldier in the Thirty Years' War was as nothing compared to his genius as a financial entrepreneur. It was no accident that he holds the all-time record, perhaps, for profits made out of war by a general. He put battles on a straight business basis and made them pay. He made profits out of arms, soldiers, nobility, property, friends and enemies alike; although he was able to retain only a fraction of his wealth, his fortune was well above $10,000,000 when he retired.

Napoleon was able to draw an income of 25,000,000 francs a year at the height of his power, but lost his fortune when he lost his job. And Wellington, his conqueror, made more out of one grand military success than the Little Corporal was able to make over a period of years. Wellington's war profits were estimated in the vicinity of a million pounds.

It was in the time of Napoleon that the financiers first began to play an all-important part in furnishing rulers with the wherewithal to carry on their war businesses. Mr. Lewinsohn says that the profits accumulated during this period by the House of Rothschild enabled that family to build up an immense fortune, the largest which the world had known until then. Before the Rothschilds there were the Florentine bankers; Jacques Coeur, minister of finance under Charles VII; Jacob Fugger, the German Banker; and the bankers Ephraim and Itzig. The author suggests that the then unprecedented importance and success of the Rothschilds was not due to financial genius alone. The combination of circumstances surrounding Napoleon's military expeditions, the canny speculative instinct of the investors, the ability to retain wealth, a knowledge of men—all these contributed to the success of Europe's money masters.

Having traced the war-profit activities of those who carried arms and those who financed them, Mr. Lewinsohn now turns to those who made them. Europe's Big Four in armaments—Krupp, Vickers, Armstrong, and Schneider—started almost simultaneously. Krupp dealt with anybody who would buy; he would finance both sides of a war, playing one against the other, even when his own nation was involved. Shortly before the World War, Krupp was employing 70,000 people—20,000 less, incidentally, than its present peace-time high. And Schneider, which was in favor from the very first among rulers, plodded a steady course. Vickers had its greatest growth shortly before and during the war as the result of the peculiar ability of Basil Zaharoff, greatest

armament salesman of all time. Armstrong was right behind Krupp and Vickers in importance.

Today, the prominence of the armament manufacturers is evanescent. A group whose profits in war are more indirect now stands to gain the most by war: "The center of gravity, as it were, of war profits has been on the whole, if not altogether, regularly shifting away from the actual theatre of military operations. The Armament firms are now menaced, and it is doubtful whether they will ever see again the profits they have enjoyed in the past. Evolution is at work to make war profits more and more indirect, so that Julius Caesar's place is now to be taken by some magnate of the canning trade."

The Profits of War is timely and profitable reading. Mr. Lewinsohn's book, translated from the French, is a product of careful research. Though it would appear that the scope of such a work might make for an episodic account, the story is surprisingly well-integrated, and has the added advantage of good writing, for the material is so fascinating that it demands, and has, an interesting presentation.

ONE of history's greatest paradoxes is that man always has sought peace yet always has prepared for war. Sometimes — though not frequently enough—he has been able to lay aside his guns and settle his differences peacefully. What these occasions have been and how they have succeeded is the interesting theme of C. R. M. F. Cruttwell's *A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World.*

Of course, the term "peaceful change" requires precise definition. If a Germany should surround a Czechoslovakia with men and munitions and, knowing that no other major power would intercede, say: "Give us half your country, or else . . . ," the smaller nation would probably accede "peacefully." Rather than lose the entire country, she would probably give in without a fight.

But Mr. Cruttwell is clear on this point. "Bloodless wars" do not count. Where there is a threat of force there is no true peaceful change. Louis XIV marched an army into Strasbourg, waved a big stick, and promised to lay about him if the citizens did not agree to incorporate their free city into France. But the club never landed for the citizens realized that uncracked skulls were the better part of valor.

Then, too, there can be change without war even though that very act of change may constitute a threat of war. When Germany goose-stepped into the Rhineland last year and violated the Treaty of Versailles, she barely escaped provoking war, technically accomplishing a peace-

ful change. This could not properly come under the same heading, say, as a change which has come about as the result of an international plebiscite.

Recognizing that there are so many varieties and so many shades of peaceful change, Mr. Cruttwell decided to treat them categorically. He has divided his book into six main chapters: disputes about boundaries and sovereignty; cession; creation and extinction of sovereignty; popular consultations and plebiscites; and changes of status.

Mr. Cruttwell holds out great hope for peaceful change in our present-day civilization. Nations are not likely to risk a war which may cripple themselves beyond recovery—at least, not over little issues. But the issues today can hardly be called trifling. They involve sharply-conflicting ideologies and a clash of social philosophies, each of which is in utter contempt of the other. To all of this Mr. Cruttwell is not oblivious, but he sees tremendous possibilities for good in the League of Nations and in the increased use of the international plebiscite. The plebiscite should give increasing confidence, he says, that the "will of any given population can, in Europe at least, be unequivocably obtained before a proposed transfer of territory is made absolute."

Mr. Cruttwell has handled his subject well. His division of the types of peaceful change into separate chapters is an aid to ready-reference and offers the reader a convenient grasp of the material.

MORE than a decade ago, Sir Charles Oman, professor of History at the University of Oxford, completed his *Art of War in the Middle Ages*. The work was widely-recognized and students of military science anxiously have been looking forward to the continuation of Dr. Oman's study through the sixteenth century. This Dr. Oman has done in *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*.

In explaining the "military psychology" of the period, Dr. Oman has approached the subject from the point of view of contemporary thought. Thus, he has placed most stress upon the strategy of the military mind, of the "art of war" of the sixteenth century, instead of overburdening the work with unimportant records or details of individual battles. He has selected for exhaustive treatment only those battles or campaigns which were typical of the military development of the period, highlighting the contributions to advanced warfare of each of the battles. Ravenna, for example. is the first instance in which a victory was won by a completely dominant artillery. Marignano and Pinkie served to establish the folly of pitting an old-fashioned infantry-army against the combination of all arms. And the battles of Garigliano and Pavia show the strategic advantage of surprising the enemy before he can maneuver his forces into fighting position.

For his material, Dr. Oman visited the actual sites of many of the wars although in many cases three centuries had obliterated the old topography. The ground at Vienna, site of the siege by Sultan Soliman in 1529, was built over by "featureless suburbs." The outline of Ravenna, where on April 11, 1512 an important battle was fought, was changed by an enterprising cardinal named Cersini in the eighteenth century, who blocked the courses of the two main rivers in the region, creating the new, broad, artificial channel. The only battlefields, in fact, which were essentially unchanged, were Flodden and Fornovo, early sixteenth-century battle sites.

The text of Dr. Oman's work is enlivened through the frequent use of maps and battle-pictures, some of which were designed by eye-witnesses. The book is thoroughly-documented and should be of extreme value to students in the field.

THERE is an adequate history of the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. But while the historians have emphasized reconstruction they have paid scant attention to reconciliation. The one is as important as the other and it is surprising to discover that Professor Paul H. Buck's *The Road to Reunion* breaks virtually untouched ground.

The wounds of civil warfare never fully healed until the beginning of the twentieth century. As the victor, the North found it hard to forget that it had won. It resented the South's lack of servility. And the South resented just as deeply the arrogance of the North and considered itself

a nation apart. But slowly both groups began to give ground. And it is with this healing process that the *Road to Reunion* is concerned.

The forces of reconciliation took one generation to fully manifest themselves. And American nationalism was the rallying point around which both North and South began to lose their misunderstanding, mistrust, and resentment of each other. A new, vibrant nation was in the making —the industrial revolution, with its pulse-quickening rush towards a new type of civilization had given both factions a common stream in which to submerge their differences. The North was the first to be caught in the surging, life-giving current and looked past factionalism to a joint glory. Soon the South was in the swim, too, multiplying its factories, furnaces, and forges. Dixie was able to boast for the first time that her economy was not entirely dependent upon agriculture but could look to manufactures for wealth and prosperity. The South had "hung out the latchstring and hoped the North would freely enter." The enthusiasm of this new America, says Professor Buck, was "so remarkable that all the ancient prejudices and lingering doubts were swept aside."

The child of reconciliation had grown, by the turn of the twentieth century, into a fully-grown and healthy young man. When the Spanish-American war broke out Confederate veterans were anxious to demonstrate that they could wear the blue as well as the grey. The war with Spain, Professor Buck adds, completed the "revolution in sentiment through which the generation had passed. For a time all people within the country felt the electrifying thrill of a common purpose. When it subsided a sense of nationality had been rediscovered, based upon consciousness of national strength and unity."

The care with which Professor Buck has composed *The Road to Reunion* is manifest on every page. As a scholar, he is chary of the all-conclusive statement and his first allegiance is to the facts, preferring to record them simply and clearly for the reader, rather than impose a heavily-interpretative character upon his book. *The Road to Reunion* is a first-rate product and a distinctive contribution to historical literature.

PROMINENT among non-fiction biographies of the month have been *Integrity: The Life of George W. Norris* by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn, and *Lord Bothwell and Mary, Queen of Scots* by Robert Gore-Brown.

The Senator from Nebraska is at last reaping

(Continued on page 110)

CURRENT HISTORY

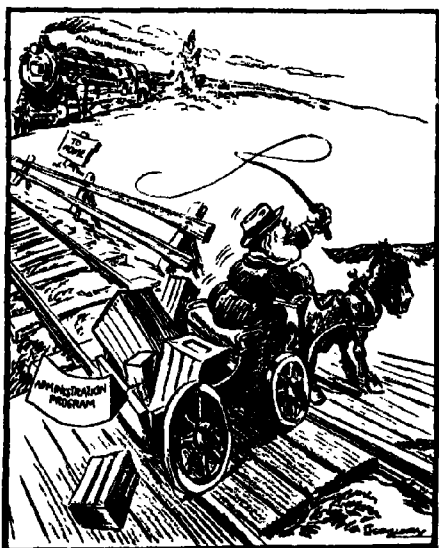
AUGUST 1937

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

Court Compromise

IT IS now more than five months since President Roosevelt launched his program for reorganizing the Supreme Court. Considering the emergency that was supposed to exist and the dire things that were supposed to happen if immediate steps were not taken to correct it, someone miscalculated. In spite of the protracted discussion and consequent delay, the country has managed to get along reasonably well. As a matter of fact, the New Deal is in far better standing as far as the Supreme Court is concerned than it ever was, or than its alarmist proponents thought it ever would be.

The original bill for reorganizing the Supreme Court was presented February 5. It caught both Congress and the country by complete surprise. Not even those occupying high and intimate positions suspected that such a move was in prospect. But for the President's great personal prestige, it would have been dismissed as a weird flight of political fancy. With the President sponsoring it, however, the majority of Democrats felt obliged to join hands and set up an instant chorus of approval, though the majority was not so overwhelming as had been hoped or expected. In fact, by combining with Republicans, Democratic dissenters were able to muster sufficient strength to block the proceedings.

The Senate Judiciary Committee opened hearings on March 10. These hearings lasted for a month or so and were participated in by scores of prominent citizens, some of whom spoke for themselves and some for powerful groups or organizations. The result was unfavorable. On May 18 the Committee voted not to recommend the bill by 10-8. Administration supporters replied with a shout of "No compromise," but with each successive counting of noses, the shout became less and less vehement. The Committee Report was filed with the Senate June 14, and its reception was such as to leave

NEA Service

THE CONGRESSIONAL TRAIN OF THOUGHT

Washington Post

"I SAY IT'S SPINACH, AND I SAY THE HELL WITH IT!"

little doubt that the President's bill had been put to death.

On July 2 came the compromise which Administration spokesmen had declared would never be offered. It came in the form of an amendment to the original bill, the amendment being prepared by Senator Hatch and others and presented to the Senate by Majority Leader Robinson. In his presentation speech, Senator Robinson not only challenged opponents to try filibustering if they dared, but threatened to keep the Senate in continuous session until a vote had been taken. He finally agreed to an early adjournment, however, so that Senatorial baseball fans could attend the "All-Star" game.

Amending the Bill

The section of the proposed amendment dealing specifically with the Supreme Court reads as follows:

> Sec. 215. The Supreme Court of the United States shall consist of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, any six of whom shall constitute a quorum: Provided, however, the number of justices may be increased by the appointment of an additional justice in the manner now provided for the appointment of justices, for each justice, including the Chief Justice, who at the time of the nomination has reached the age of 75 years, but not more than one appointment of an additional justice as herein authorized shall be made in any calendar year: Provided, that the authority to appoint for any calendar year shall not lapse by reason of the rejection of the nomination, delay in confirmation, inability to nominate during an adjournment of the Senate or withdrawal of the nomination in a succeeding calendar year; and when such additional justice or justices have been so appointed, no vacancy caused by the death, resignation, or retirement of a justice (except the Chief Justice) who has reached the age of 75 years, shall be filled, unless the filling of such vacancy is necessary to maintain at not less than nine the number of justices who have not reached the age of 75. The number of appointments so made shall not, at any time, increase the total number of justices by more than two-thirds of the permanent membership of the court. If the number of members of the Supreme Court is in excess of nine not less than two-thirds of the membership shall constitute a quorum. As used in this section, the term 'Justice' shall not include a justice who has retired from regular, active service.

There are two essential differences between this amendment and the original idea. First, the age limit, which implies senility on the part of Supreme Court justices, has been raised from seventy and a half to seventy-five years; and second, the President's power to appoint additional justices for those who fail to retire on reaching that limit has been reduced to one a year. When all has been said and done, however, age still remains the excuse for granting the President power to enlarge or reorganize the Supreme Court. If age is of such importance, why not meet the problem it presents in a straightforward manner and provide for the retirement of justices in the same way that it is provided for generals, admirals, etc. Proponents of the Court reform bill say that it is doubtful whether Congress has the power to provide for the compulsory retirement of Supreme Court justices without a constitutional amendment and that, as at the beginning, they feel conditions are too pressing to warrant the delay which submission of a constitutional amend-

ment would involve. Such an argument sounds logical enough, but there is another reason for opposition to compulsory retirement by those seeking Court reform. It might be provided in such a way that no room would be left for appointing additional justices to enlarge or reorganize the Court, and that seems to be the real objective. Since the introduction of the original bill, however, the Supreme Court has shown a much more favorable attitude, upholding one New Deal measure after another and disproving, to some extent at least, the charge that it was determined to block social progress at any cost. Besides, Justice Van Devanter has resigned, making it possible for the President to appoint a justice of his own choosing and thus overcome that bugaboo of an alleged 4-5 adverse majority.

Still it is argued that some kind of a Court revision bill must be enacted to safeguard the Administration's prestige. Doubting or indifferent Democrats are being importuned to come to the aid of the Party for the Party's own sake, if for no better reason. The debate appears to hinge on partisanship or personalities, more than merit. But Democratic defection still persists to such an extent as leaves the issue in doubt, though at this writing supporters of the Court reorganization bill would seem to have a slight advantage in the Senate.

Quieter on the Labor Front

JUNE was a month of noise and commotion along the labor front, especially in the valleys of steel. The C.I.O. forced four independent steel companies to close down temporarily; Governor Murphy of Michigan sent troops to Monroe for a day or two, Governor Earle of Pennsylvania gave Johnstown a brief taste of martial law. Governor Townsend of Indiana refused to send troops to East Chicago, and Governor Davey of Ohio mobilized the National Guard; the C.I.O. sued to prevent the use of troops to help non-strikers in Ohio: Republic Steel sued postal authorities over the non-delivery of mail to its besieged workers, and the National Labor Relations Board charged the Ford Motor Company with violating the Wagner Act.

Outstanding among labor events in June was the strike called by the Committee for Industrial Organization on May 26 against four independent steel companies. This strike became so alarming in its implications that President Roosevelt appointed a special board to mediate on June 17. The board was headed by Charles P. Taft 2nd, a Republican, and included Lloyd K. Garrison, Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School and Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor. After a week's futile effort, the board threw up its hands. The C.I.O. leaders were willing to confer, but representatives of the steel companies were not, the latter claiming that they were not compelled to sign contracts under the Wagner Act and declaring that they would not sign contracts with the C.I.O. under any circumstances. With negotiations brought to a halt by this impasse, the steel companies decided to reopen their plants, asserting that the majority of their men wanted to go back to work and that nothing stood in the way of resumption of operations save adequate protection by State authorities.

By July 8, all four steel companies were back in operation, one by virtue of a rather innocuous agreement with the C.I.O., the other three without any agreement whatsoever. On the same day, A.F. of L. President Green declared: "It now becomes certain that the steel strikes at Chicago, Cleveland, Johnstown, Youngstown, Canton and other cities are lost. That means that the Committee for Industrial Organization failed to meet its major test successfully."

Philip Murray, head of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, replied by saying that the steel strike had not been lost and that the C.I.O. was in a stronger position than ever. This represented the consensus of official C.I.O. opinion.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

DEATH NEVER TAKES A HOLIDAY

C.I.O.-A.F. of L. Rift

Thus the quarrel between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. widens. This quarrel has a profound bearing on the struggle to restore industrial peace. Its effect on labor is bound to be demoralizing, while its effect on public opinion is unfavorable.

The question of craft *vs.* industrial unionism is now overshadowed by the question of whether labor shall invoke its political power to mold public policy in general, or confine its efforts to improved working conditions; whether it shall mobilize *en masse* for political purposes or cling to the idea of protecting its membership along trade and group lines. There can be no doubt that mass industry calls for more exhaustive organization on the part of employees, and that some such movement as the C.I.O. represents was inevitable. At the same time there can be no doubt, as Mr. Green declares, that this movement has been pushed too hard, and that it is now suffering from the effects of an overly ambitious campaign.

Too many unauthorized or outlaw strikes are occurring within the C.I.O. province. Too many local leaders are defying authority. Too many factions are showing an irresponsible, if not a radical attitude toward law and order. Those in charge of the movement have found it necessary to remove leaders and organizers who fail to observe contracts or live up to instructions. This is as it should be. But even a greater degree of discipline must be enforced if the movement is to command public confidence.

No Bargaining

President Roosevelt put the quietus on a favorite dream of certain labor leaders when he declared that the Federal Government would not bargain with its employees either collectively or individually. He made this declaration in response to a question put to him at the Press Conference of July 9. The President said that Federal employees were free to join any union that might appeal to them. but that they must not expect the Government to recognize it as a bargaining agency or tolerate strikes.

Critics of the Roosevelt Administration were quick to point out what they called an inconsistency between his stand toward public employees and the stand he was forcing other people to take toward private employees. This, of course, is a bit of political sophistry. A government must of necessity exercise rights and claim privileges different from those of citizens or groups of citizens. Sovereign power is quite beyond those relationships which it permits or ordains for those who dwell under it. The United States cannot be sued, for instance, or challenged in the exercise of its authority. The United States reserves the right to punish to collect taxes, and to do many other things which a citizen or a group of citizens cannot do.

President Roosevelt's pronouncement with respect to government employees comes as an inevitable phase of the labor program which he and his associates are trying to formulate.

Outlook Brighter

Those who looked for the Wagner Labor Act to bring about immediate peace are somewhat disappointed, while those who believed it would not are illogically pleased. Like most important reform measures, the

Wagner Act suffers from defects and loopholes. Even its most enthusiastic supporters admit the desirability of amendments. In this connection, it is well to remember that most important laws have suffered from the same thing and have had to be gradually perfected. Notwithstanding all the troubles and disturbances that have plagued industry during the last few months, conditions are obviously getting better. At no time during the month of June was one percent of our 26,000,000 workers on strike. This simple fact explains why business is not only able to carry on as usual, but to show distinct improvement in certain lines. If clashes on the labor front have resulted in 25 or 30 fatalities during the last month, the pleasure or convenience of driving automobiles has resulted in 100 times as many. Let us keep our sense of proportion and not permit pessimism to exaggerate the meaning of incidents.

Will the Ledger Show Black?

THE Federal Government closed accounts on June 30 with a deficit of more than $2,750,000 and a debt of more than $36,000,000,000. The debt represents an all-time peak by a wide margin. The deficit is somewhat greater than was expected. Though revenues exceeded those of the preceding year by $1,178,000,000, they still fell short of meeting expenditures by a staggering amount. They were $70,000,000 more than had been estimated, but expenditures were $220,000,000 more.

In addition to the $36,000,000,000 debt, the Federal Government has certain contingent liabilities in guarantees as to principal and interest on outstanding obligations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, amounting in all to $4,725,000. These liabilities are offset by assets in the form of loans or investments amounting to nearly four billion dollars.

Director of the Budget Daniel W. Bell predicts that the Government will come close to a balanced budget next year if revenues hold up and Congress does not place unexpected burdens on the Treasury. Previous estimates had placed the deficit for next year at about four hundred million.

Neither the debt nor the deficit represents an alarming condition. The Government of the United States still has a tremendous reserve of cash and credit. For one thing, there is that tremendous gold horde in Kentucky, the largest ever assembled by any nation. For another, there is the simple fact that no matter how oppressive they may be, our taxes are still lighter than those prevailing in many countries. At the same time, the Government cannot go on forever accumulating deficits and increasing debt. Neither can it go on forever in the pursuit of policies which encourage, if they do not force States, counties, and cities to accumulate deficits and increase debts.

That President Roosevelt and his advisers realize this is indicated by a growing tendency to economize. On June 23, the Presi-

NEA Service

HERE, HERE! WHAT'S THIS?

dent sent a letter to the heads of all departments in which he expressed a desire that they cut such expenditures as could properly be cut by 10 per cent during the next fiscal year. He hoped that such a cut would result in the saving of $400,000,000. Since this is the amount of the predicted deficit for 1938, it is only fair to conclude that the President hopes to balance the budget by such a saving.

Sparks from the Spanish Powder Keg

EUROPE continues to play with fire in Spain and to shiver as it plays. Jealousy, distrust, and conflicting aims combine to make anything like a coherent, or constructive policy impossible. From the very beginning of her fratricidal war, Spain has been used as a testing ground by the so-called great powers—a testing ground for war engines and diplomatic stunts. While pretending to cooperate for peace, they have maneuvered to get an advantage over each other. While working outwardly to isolate the area of strife, they have secretly connived to abet and aggravate it.

Regardless of all the pacts and patrols, Italy and Germany have shown consistent sympathy for the Spanish rebels, while Russia has shown equally consistent, but far less effective sympathy for the loyalists. However sincere France and England may have been in striving to maintain a neutral attitude, they have been so generally outbluffed and out-maneuvered as to find themselves in a false position more than once.

Alleged neutrality and non-intervention have helped more to keep the war alive and increase the danger of its spreading than to promote an early end of hostilities or insure peace. While battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines have sailed grandly back and forth along the Spanish coast, foreign soldiers, foreign planes, and foreign shells have aided materially in the shedding of Spanish blood. The world could hardly lose if this strange admixture of high pretensions and double-dealing were to blow up, as now seems imminent.

Meanwhile, one year of continuous and increasingly bitter conflict has brought little to Spain, save the destruction of life and property. Neither rebels nor loyalists have won anything like a decisive victory, or made such progress as to forecast decisive victory. Protagonists of each side go on shouting "atrocity" at the other, but there would seem to be little choice when it comes to the ruthless treatment of non-combatants, or reprisals. Spain merely confirms the old-time theory that of all wars, civil war is the cruelest.

Glasgow Record

JUDGING BY MUSSOLINI'S LATEST PRESS TIRADE, HE IS EAGER TO HAVE REVENGE ON SOMEBODY FOR SOMETHING.

Nothing Conclusive

Bilbao fell on June 18. By comparison with other recent incidents, this was a major success for the rebels. It gave them control of a little more of the northern Spanish coast, as well as of a great seaport. Of equal significance, the Valencia Government did little to help or relieve Bilbao in its defense. Whether such an attitude represents weakness, or division, is a much debated question. There was lack of such cooperation as one would expect under the circumstances.

Four days after the fall of Bilbao, Eng-

land and France refused to join Germany in a demonstration against loyalist coast cities in retaliation for a submarine attack on the German cruiser *Deutschland*. The next day Italy withdrew from the non-intervention patrol, and the loyalists accused Italy and Germany of maintaining a submarine blockade.

With Germany and Italy out, England and France offered to maintain the non-intervention by themselves, but only to be informed that such a proposition was unacceptable. Italy and Germany then proposed to rejoin the non-intervention with the understanding that the rebels would be granted belligerent rights, but France and England would not accept, and that was where the matter stood on June 11, with France threatening to reopen her border if the non-intervention patrol were not re-established.

To offset all these unfavorable incidents, the loyalists launched a fierce drive from Madrid on the ninth, precipitating one of the bloodiest battles of the war and claiming to have penetrated the rebel lines. Madrid was thus brought back into the spotlight, where it has been for many months, except for temporary diversions, and where it promises to remain until the end. The rebels can not win without taking Madrid, nor can the loyalists win without restoring dependable communications with it.

As things now stand, the rebels control a trifle more of Spain than they did in May, while the loyalists control a trifle less; the Basques have been defeated at Bilbao, and the Catalonians remain lukewarm toward the loyalist Government. Pitched battles and air raids lend drama to the sorry spectacle, while outside intrigue and diplomatic maneuvering create unwholesome suspense, but nothing conclusive has occurred, or is in sight.

Dividing Palestine

THE British Government, admitting the "irreconcilability" of Arab and Zionist aspirations and declaring the "unworkable" character of the present mandate, has approved a plan, proposed by the Palestine Royal Commission, for a three-fold partition of Palestine. The major recommendation of the Commission is that the existing mandate should be terminated and that there should be substituted for it two treaties with independent sovereign Arab and Jewish States, covering roughly two-thirds and one-third of Palestine respectively; and the issue of a new permanent mandate to Great Britain for the government of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, with a corridor to the sea from Jerusalem, and a temporary mandate continuing British administration in Haifa, Acre, and Tiberias. The policy of the Balfour Declaration would not apply to this mandated area.

Very briefly, the report (which is 404 pages long) reviews the history of the mandate and reaches the conclusion that the present situation cannot longer endure. Under the stress of the World War the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews in order to obtain their support. On the strength of those promises both parties formed certain expectations. Obligations to Jews and Arabs, under the mandate, have not proved mutually compatible, despite the improved material prosperity which Jewish immigration has brought to Palestine as a whole. Nor does the future promise any better result.

Two national communities within one small country have developed an irrepressible conflict. Their national aspirations are incompatible. The Arabs desire to revive the traditions of the Arab golden age. The Jews desire to show what they can achieve when restored to the land in which the Jewish nation was born. Neither ideal permits of combination in the service of a single state. The Government of Palestine, which is at present an unsuitable form for governing Arabs and democratic Jews, cannot develop into a system of self-government as it

St. Louis Post Dispatch

THREE MEN ON A CAMEL.

has elsewhere, because there is no such system which could insure justice both to Jews and Arabs. Unrepresentative government, unable to dispel the conflicting grievances of the two dissatisfied and irresponsible communities it governs, can maintain peace under the mandate only by repression. Repression will not solve the problem. Its expense also curtails services directed to "the well-being and development" of the population. The continuance of the present system means the gradual alienation of two peoples who are traditionally the friends of Britain. The problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. Neither race can fairly rule all Palestine, but each race might justly rule part of it. Partition offers a chance of ultimate peace, which no other plan does.

The two treaties proposed by the Commission would be negotiated by the mandatory with the Government of Trans-Jordan and representatives of the Arabs of Palestine on the one hand, and with the Zionist Organization on the other. This would be in accordance with the precedent set in Iraq and Syria. A new mandate "keeping the sanctity of Jerusalem and Bethlehem inviolate and insuring free and safe access to them for all the world" is proposed as "a sacred trust of civilization. . . . An enclave should be demarcated extending from a point north of Jerusalem to a point south of Bethlehem, and access to the sea should be provided by a corridor extending to the north of the main road and to the south of the railway, including the towns of Lydda and Ramle, and terminating at Jaffa."

The frontier between the proposed Arab and Jewish states is suggested. Starting from Ras an Naqura, it follows the existing northern and eastern frontier of Palestine to Lake Tiberias and crosses the lake to the outflow of the Jordan, whence it continues down the river to a point a little north of Beisan. It then cuts across the Beisan Plain and runs along the southern edge of the Valley of Jezreel and across the Plain of Esdraelon to a point near Megiddo, whence it crosses the Carmel ridge in the neighborhood of the Megiddo road. Having thus reached the maritime plain, the line runs southwards down its eastern edge, curving west to avoid Tulkarm, until it reaches the Jerusalem-Jaffa corridor near Lydda. South of the corridor it continues down the edge of the plain to a point about ten miles south of Rehovot, when it turns west to the sea. This autonomous Jewish state, mostly in the plains along the seacoast, will include only one quarter of the present area of Palestine, and one-half of its populated area, in contrast to the present Jewish National Home, which extends from Lebanon to Egypt, but it will give the Jews by far the most productive parts of the country and will include virtually the entire area of present Jewish colonization.

Transition

There will naturally be a transition period during which the minorities in the Jewish and Arab states can choose their future homes. At least 225,000 Arabs now live in the Jewish area and will have to be moved with the help of British funds and a grant from the Jewish State. The civil services throughout Palestine will have to be reor-

ganized. Purchase of land by Jews in Arab territory, and vice versa, would be prohibited. Immigration would be restricted to 8,000 for the next eight months. Efforts will be made to place the external trade of Palestine on a fairer basis. A vigorous effort should be made to increase the number of Arab schools. "Mixed schools" in the "Mandate of Holy Places" would be administered by Britain. Arab and Jewish representatives should be added to the Advisory council.

In effect the new states will be protectorates of Great Britain, and will therefore be safe from attack by a foreign power. Each new state may create its own army. Each will be allied with Britain on the lines of the recent Anglo-Egyptian agreement. Britain will retain control of the seacoast by means of her naval base at Haifa.

Far Eastern Frictions

THE question of peace or war in the Far East depends upon the intentions of Japan. Soviet Russia is satisfied with the status quo; China is still busy mending her own fences.

Much interest, therefore, has attached to Prince Konoye's new Japanese Government, which succeeded the Hayashi Cabinet in mid-June. The Prime Minister has set his heart on a government of "national unification," in which the divergent aims of the political parties, the Army, and the Navy are to be harmoniously blended. Once a radical, Prince Konoye now opposes doctrinaire panaceas and experimentation: his conception of social justice is strongly colored by nationalism; he leans towards state control of industry and political centralization rather than the forms of economic and political liberalism. To date, his most striking compromise solution of the dilemma in which he finds himself is in the field of finance: military appropriations must not exceed the nation's resources, but at the same time production is to be stepped up by state subsidies so that these resources will be increased.

"Incidents"

In the field of foreign policy the Konoye Government has already encountered two "incidents." The first occurred on the Soviet-Manchukuoan border. The source of the dispute was the sovereignty over two small, sandy islands in the Amur River. The Japanese claimed that these had been occupied by Soviet troops on June 19; the Russians alleged that the Japanese had seized the islands the next day. The Russians maintained that, according to a map attached to a treaty with China in 1860, the islands were theirs; the Japanese asserted that the proper boundary followed the middle of the main channel, which would allot the islands to Manchukuo.

The situation boiled up fiercely again on June 29 and 30, when Soviet gunboats were sunk in a battle with the Japanese; each side accused the other of firing the first shots, and Moscow announced a national defense loan of $800,000,000. However, negotiations in Moscow brought an agreement for the mutual withdrawal of troops and gunboats and the evacuation of the islands, sovereignty over which was to be determined by a proposed border commission.

The next week Japanese troops engaged in another clash on the continent, this time with the Chinese outside Peiping. Once again the matter was temporarily settled by a local truce providing for the mutual withdrawal of troops and the adjudication of claims, but conflict soon flared again.

Both incidents suggest that the Far Eastern powers do not yet want war and are still jockeying for position. But the growing pressure inside Japan, the supposed weakness of the Soviet Army, purged of eight generals, and the growing strength of China's forces leave the Orient in a state of uneasy tension lest Japan should decide that now is an advantageous time to strike.

Pan-American Trade Conflicts

The United States finds old rivals, and some new ones, in South America

By THE EDITORS

THE Inter-American Peace Conference more often called the Buenos Aires Conference focused the attention of the nation on our neighbors to the South. More specifically, the Conference inspired a great deal of soul searching and self criticism on the part of those Americans who were shocked at the rudeness of the South Americans in refusing to take our little benevolent pills of peace and economic planning.

Most important among the facts unearthed in this self-examination concerned Uncle Sam's South American pocketbook. The mighty dollar diplomacy so sleek and fat in 1920 had apparently thinned to a skeleton. A market that once absorbed over $600,000,000 in American products in 1920 had dwindled to where American salesmen had to scurry and run to sell a bare $175,000,000 in heavy goods and consumer goods. Obviously this is an intolerable situation to American business men. For even the least aggressive among them consider South America, in an economic sense, Uncle Sam's own back yard. If in the past South America absorbed quantities of surplus American manufacture the continent, in turn, sold a good portion of its crops in the American market. Coffee from Brazil is an American staple, with hides from the Argentine; and in addition ferromanganese, chromite ore, tungsten, antimony, mica, tin, mercury, beauxite, lead and amorphous graphite from Colombia, Chile, Venezuela have become essential ingredients for our manufacture; and, of supreme importance, for our billion dollar defense machine. This latter situation worries our strategists who envisage the day when we might have to fight desperately to maintain communication with these necessary products.

Dollar Diplomacy

Until 1929 the Pan American picture was rosy. American investments totaled some $6,000,000,000; American products enjoyed a favored position. On the surface dollar diplomacy maintained with ease the quick victory won in the South American markets immediately following the World War. However, the crash of the bull market inaugurating the depression unveiled a condition beneath the happy exterior which stank to heaven. Latin America was a wreck. The evacuation of "dollar diplomacy" left in its wake receiverships, embittered hatred of United States, revolution and war. In America duped investors in South American securities began slowly to comprehend the mechanics of the colossal skin game that had parted them from their money. It was a simple game for the tricksters. American money poured into South American securities had purchased American products for countries far oversold beyond their ability to pay by petty dictators whose only legitimate business was graft. It was the circular insanity of the war loans applied on a smaller though more profitable scale by respectable American banking houses who lied in their teeth when they assured themselves and their investors that South American development was limitless.

From 1929 to 1933 South American prod-

ucts deflated in the American market; and as a consequence new tariff barriers and exchange reprisals loosened the ties of Pan American amity. To make matters worse American business men incapable of learning from their foreign competitors, squabbled among themselves for the rapidly shrinking South American business. Where British companies acted in concert, American companies under-cut each other's prices with ruinous results.

That in brief was the situation in 1933. South American salvage was a thing of the past: it was time for a new start predicated on new conceptions. The Roosevelt Administration supplied the "good neighbor policy" which has gone a long way to salve the political raws rubbed into the South American continent by the old "dollar diplomacy." And Secretary Hull began a series of intelligent moves toward reciprocal understandings in foreign trade. What results both policy and action are having, and will have in the future can already be delineated. From $114,000,000 export total in 1933 the figure rose to $175,000,000 in 1935 and to over $200,000,000 in 1936. Imports from South America followed a similar trend from $200,000,000 in 1933 to approximately $300,000,000 in 1936.

New Monroe Doctrine

Of course this is an unfavorable trade balance; and it will probably remain an unfavorable balance until the Pan American plan, or as it has been called the "New Monroe Doctrine," is properly oiled and manned. And in regard to this the Conference at Buenos Aires despite the rebuff of a rigid embargo plan in the event of a European war, went a long way toward oiling the wheels and selecting the proper crew. Without fanfare Secretary Hull prepared the minds of the conferees for a concrete plan to dissipate tariff barriers and to establish the principle of equal treatment of all nations in international trade. As a corollary the way was paved for a possible conference of Ministers of Finance and central banking governors to attempt monetary stabilization and the lifting of exchange controls.

And if these dealings have been primarily with Argentina it is a fact that as far as international trade is concerned the Argentine total amounts to more than all the rest of South America, excluding Brazil. Trade negotiations with South America are strongly influenced by whatever bargains the United States makes with the Argentine. And until recently these negotiations have come together from opposite directions and have embodied alien trade doctrines. From Secretary of State Hull comes the principle of equal opportunity in international trade following a process of multilateral agreements. While Argentina conducts its trade on a strictly bilateral basis, employing a variety of tariffs and exchange controls to this end. Great Britain, an aged practitioner of this art, maintains a most-favored customer position with Germany, at the present moment, seriously threatening America's hold on second place. However Mr. Hull has managed, with the assistance of normal economic recovery to work America into a better bargaining position. Of greatest help in effecting this improved condition has been the alleviation of the cause for Argentina's adoption of trade controls—the deflated prices of agricultural products and raw materials.

Brazilian Agreement

Next to Argentina comes Brazil the source of our coffee supply, which item constitutes about 85% of our imports. With Brazil the United States already has established a working agreement that is proving a satisfactory and lucrative one to both parties. In the agreement the United States is pledged to maintain coffee on the free list; while duties are increased on Brazil nuts, castor beans and manganese ore. In return Brazil

accords advantages on imports of American automobiles and accessories, and on various machinery, fresh fruits, and oatmeal. Moreover, Mr. Hull effectively squelched demands that the State Department exact preferential treatment from Brazil for American creditors. In the agreement is a provision for the liquidation of frozen American funds on an equitable basis, through an amount of foreign exchange determined by an adjusted average of the United States imports from Brazil over the preceding ten years.

What has resulted from this specific agreement with Brazil is revealed in the 10.7% increase in exports to that country in the six months in 1936 following the negotiations. Over the same period United States imports from Brazil increased 4%.

This seems a picayune beginning; and yet the underlying philosophy it reveals cannot be overestimated. Today the United States is aggressively concerned about its South American neighbors; and the nexus of this concern is cooperation for mutual benefit. After the years of dollar diplomacy this is a happy approach to a problem which is ineluctably bound up with the future of the United States. If left uncomplicated by foreign ambition the two continents in close proximity might thrive in economic health. But there are other powers in Europe and in the Far East already infiltrating the South American countries, each year making more difficult the completion of any clear-cut understanding so necessary to economic reciprocity.

European Angle

Whenever American statesmen or business men begin to indulge in roseate dreams concerning the potentialities of trade with Latin America, they inevitably encounter one permanent snag. That is, the tie that crosses the South Atlantic and joins South America wi[illegible]pe. It is a cultural, a political, a[illegible]nomic link; but, even if the purely economic is but one aspect, the other two—the cultural and the political—have their effects upon the trade picture.

It must be remembered that there was a fundamental difference between the original settlement of North and of South America. The voyagers on the *Mayflower* set out to conquer a New World so that they might leave the Old World behind as no more than a memory. The *Conquistadores*, on the other hand, thought of their New World chiefly as a suitable terrain for the extension of the glories of the Old. The tradition has died hard, and, despite the outcroppings of movements towards a more indigenous form of nationalism, the ruling classes have remained overwhelmingly Spanish and French in their traditions and pay homage to France and Spain as their cultural ancestors.

Not unnaturally, this allegiance has translated itself into the political sphere. It is roughly analogous to the relationship between Canada and Great Britain. The League of Nations has played its part as a force consolidating that relationship between South America and Europe and placing it upon a more formal footing, whatever may be the present status of the Geneva ideal. For example, the sensitiveness of South American states to the adoption of new Pan-American obligations at Buenos Aires which might conflict with their League commitments was significant. This may have been a matter of sheer self-interest or of an idealistic devotion to the maintenance of world peace. It makes little difference; the fact remains that the League provided a reason which they could offer for their refusal to turn their backs upon Europe.

Economic Link

In the economic sphere, we find a more concrete bond with the Old World, a bond which applies to other European nations more strongly than to Spain and France.

Two instances illustrate the strength of this economic link. The first dates from the Ottawa Conference in 1931, at which the nations of the British Commonwealth met for the purpose of forming, as compactly as possible, a British economic empire. Seldom before had sentiment, as such, been as favorable to the conception of a closely knit British economic bloc. Yet the English were more than diffident about granting the Dominions what they most wanted—a preference for their foodstuffs, particularly wheat, in the British market; and yet this condition was virtually essential to the achievement of the Conference's purpose. Eventually, the preference was given, but with qualifications which rendered it meaningless. The reason for this was simply that England was not willing to cut herself off from the plentiful and cheap supplies provided by the Argentine. The cynics even suggested that, in the interests of the success of the Conference, the Union Jack should be hoisted over Argentina.

War-Time Supplies

The second illustration was afforded by the recent Buenos Aires conference. One of the main proposals before the meeting was the imposition of a continental neutral embargo on trade with belligerents in Europe. But the South American delegates were quick to turn thumbs down on the proposition. Their cultural and political affiliations with the Old World no doubt bore upon their decision not to pinch off war-time supplies. But a far more pressing factor was not only their dependence upon trade with Europe, which the threat of an embargo would inevitably divert, but also the glittering prospects of war-time profits which no form of neutral cooperation with the United States could replace.

Europe's economic grip upon South America has substantially relaxed since the pre-War days. The War itself left the United States in a predominant position, which was steadily consolidated up until 1929. After the crash, however, the old European contenders for the South American market—England, France, and Germany—were back in force; to their ranks were added new rivals—the Japanese, the Italians, and the Czechoslovakians.

Foreign Investments

Among the individual investors, the British lead the way with an estimated minimum of six billion dollars. Of this the larger part is invested in railways, approximately two and a half billion dollars having gone to that purpose chiefly in Argentina and Brazil. This shows little increase over the pre-War figure, and later investments have been placed rather in mining and manufacturing. The intimacy of commercial relations between the two individual nations, Great Britain and Argentina, is measured by the British investment in the latter country of over two billion dollars; other European investments total some three and a half billions.

From these investments spring South America's reliance upon Europe as a market and her unwillingness to jeopardize the possession of that market. As far as exports are concerned, Argentina is the key South American nation: her sales abroad are as great as the total of those of the other South American nations. And more than 55 per cent of the Argentine exports are destined for Europe. Similarly Chile and Peru send more than 50 per cent of their exports to Europe. Uruguay sends 60 per cent, Bolivia nearly 90 per cent; Brazil, with a lower proportion, sends approximately 40 per cent of her exports to Europe.

Barter Agreements

One final factor, which must be taken into account in any consideration of the European position in the South American market, is that of centralized or competitive

selling. South America's complicated tariff systems, exchange controls, and clearing agreements have all tended to work in favor of European nations, particularly Germany, with highly centralized export agencies and a desire to enter into bilateral barter agreements. As mentioned elsewhere, this not only runs directly counter to the Hull multilateral trade policy, but it also places at a disadvantage American exporters who compete between themselves as well as with other nations selling in the South American market.

Fascist Virus

However, the export agency is only one aspect of the race to capture the South American market by the European nations. Fascism in Italy and Germany demonstrates again and again the advantages of a totalitarian government. And to the "fascist" and to many other outsiders fascism is a blessed gift to be given freely, even imposed upon other nations. Already the South American republics have been subtly inoculated with fascist virus. Technicians, teachers, military missions have been dispatched from Berlin and from Rome to South America at no expense to those countries availing themselves of the opportunity to learn more at close hand concerning the blessings of fascism. Recently official Italy sent missions to a dozen South American republics to consolidate Italian trade gains; and in addition established substantial cash prizes for the best literary work coming out of South America each year. It goes without saying that such literary work will not include any searching criticism of its sponsors.

Nor has Germany been less busy. Colombia has already shown a desire to experiment with the German barter system which has been so disillusioning to many a middle European country. In exchange for German manufactured goods Colombia will ship coffee, platinum and oil to the German markets.

In Brazil Germany has been successful in displacing the United States as customer No. 1. And as a further indication of Germany's purpose, Gustave Schlotterer of that Government approached the Brazilian Foreign Trade Board with a plan that would enable Germany to begin, at once, to pile up huge reserves of Brazilian raw materials against the coming war. Also there is evidence indicating a determined attempt on the part of Germany to gain control of the output of the Brazilian iron ore mines. And it is the realization of some such a scheme by a European power that disturbs the American State Department. It is felt there is a real danger that the smaller South American countries, with but limited resources, will ultimately be forced to give outright concessions to European powers when the day of reckoning comes.

Dangerous Situation

Thus are the natural advantages of the United States in relation to the South American markets being whittled away. Although in the long run proximity will generate persistent influences toward closer ties with the United States, at present it is relegated to a secondary position in the face of a determined European drive. And considered superficially it would seem that the United States has ignored all preventive action. In itself the arms embargo carries forebodings of Latin-American relations with Europe and the United States. Obviously it will encourage the South American countries to look to Europe for the arms and munitions formerly supplied in the United States. Associating this with the fact that all the anti-democratic ideologies in Europe are desperately in need of raw materials found in the South American countries the combination of needs presents a dangerous situation.

BEHIND BRITAIN'S BOOM

Castles for cockneys and sky-rocket shares change the face—and spirit—of England

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

FEW now refer to "British recovery." The days when British business slowly crept out of the depths of the depression have been forgotten in the present dazzling economic conditions. The only word for it is the Americanism, "boom." Indeed, the British boom is in many of its characteristics an "American" boom. It is also an armament boom, a financial boom, and, perhaps more than is suspected, a building boom. It has brought manifold benefits—and evils—in its wake and is by way of transforming the countenance of Britain. In fact, as a result of the boom, old England isn't England any more.

How it all started is an old story which requires only brief review. First, Britain went off the gold standard and, with British goods made cheaper in terms of dollars, francs, etc., the export trade improved. Next, Parliament raised tariffs around the depressed industry of the country, and British manufacturers were able to sell more in the home market. Then there took place that astonishing bit of financial legerdemain called "conversion," by which the British Government reduced the interest of the enormous war loan from 5 per cent to 3½ per cent and made the bondholders like it. This move, besides helping to balance the budget, forced investors to desert consols, which gave them but 3½ per cent, for industrials, which brought 6 per cent or better. In short conversion pumped money into industry and started recovery. Finally, the extraordinary building boom acted like new blood in the convalescent economic body.

Among all these factors, the building boom has undoubtedly played the most important part, and a picture of it brings out vividly the outstanding features of the British revival.

The sensational nature of the British rearmament boom has obscured considerably the importance of the building boom. The British Government's expenditure on armaments in 1935–6 has been estimated at about $800,000,000. Yet in 1930, the last year in which an estimate of the gross value of the output of building and contracting trades was made, the figures ran to approximately one billion dollars. Since the building industry has practically doubled since that date, a figure of two billions does not seem excessive. Compare this to the billion and a half dollars of defense estimates for the coming year, and you can perceive that the building industry has assumed a bigger rôle than the armament industry (important as the latter has been) in the British boom. No wonder then that John Maynard Keynes pairs building with conversion as the two most important factors in British recovery. *The Economist*, a very cautious periodical, says flatly, "There can be little doubt that the building industry was the backbone of British recovery, especially in its early stages."

Cheap money constitutes one of two principal reasons for this building boom. Neville Chamberlain, by discouraging loans abroad in 1932, kept British money within the United Kingdom. An important part of this money flowed into the "Building Societies" (like our "building and loan asso-

FASHIONS IN HOUSING: This modernly-designed exhibition hall is only one of many new constructions which are rapidly changing the face of London. Appropriately, one of its first exhibitions was devoted to modern homes, the tremendous scope of which has been a factor in the British economic boom.

ciations"), and big financiers like Sir Josiah Stamp have participated heavily in them. These societies have given Britons a chance to buy houses on time, an advantage which hitherto they had enjoyed only to a limited extent. The second reason has been the comparative cheapness of building costs. While building costs in the United States have remained close to the high of the twenties, in Britain the index of building costs in 1935 stood at 83.6 as against a high of 94 in 1928. Rationalization in the production of building materials, increased efficiency in a British industry which had remained backward for years, plus keen competition (at least in its early stages) between firms, accounts for much of this. Also, unemployment had been high among building workers for years, labor organizations in these trades had been weak, and in general wages were low. The situation shows some signs of an advance in costs as monopolies in building materials have developed in the past few years, with inevitable price-fixing and trade agreements.

Hence, as a result of easy credit and low costs, the British building business for the first time in history has tapped the vast lower middle-class market. Only the more prosperous half, it is true, but this plus the wealthier income groups forms an extensive buying public.

Castles for Cockneys

The cockney finds himself for the first time able to possess the traditional Briton's castle, including the ground on which it rests. The latter point is important because almost all houses in the past have been sold on leased ground. The ground rent trusts fattened in Britain just as they have in some parts of the United States. Offers to sell "freehold" houses and lots, therefore, have been a novel sales-point to the average Briton.

And sales-points—exploited by truly American high-pressure methods—have been exactly the means by which the build-

ing boom has been put across to the British buying public. Being Britons, the house-buyers have been particularly susceptible to the "snob appeal." Slick building salesmen have played on the illusions of petty clerks by suggesting that they give their modest new homes titles like "The Wight, Glendell Park, Croydon"—a tripartite address hitherto reserved for squires and "gentlemen." Lots in one estate addition, near Fort Belvedere, the home of the former Prince of Wales, found ready purchasers after promises that the owners could see the Prince drive into London—"past your very door." One enterprising salesman, so the story goes, disposed of a block of villas overlooking Windsor Castle on the plea that the occupants could watch the King walking in his garden. Many estate developments have arisen on historic manor places. In one such case, an ancient palace was razed with the exception of one wing which was retained as a community center. Sir Arthur de Cros' home at Bognor, where King George V recuperated during his long illness in 1928–9, was sold as an estate development, and Sir Arthur liked the game so much that he has become one of the big operators in the business.

As an example of how sales are made, take the case of John Jones, a clerk employed in the City of London. He has been living in a dismal flat in the middle of the murky metropolis, with no central heating, antique plumbing, no garden, his curtains assailed by smoke from surrounding factories. Accordingly, he finds the following advertisement irresistible: "Manor Homes —a new estate development at Woodmere Manor—away from the bustle yet surrounded by the comforts of town life—only 25 minutes from the West End—commutation ticket 1/1 daily—radio, garden, tiled bathroom, parquet floors—what do you want to call your villa, Mr. Purchaser? —why not Glevenstoke House, Floral Villas, Woodmere, Hants?—easy terms down and only 11/7 weekly." On inquiry he finds that the purchase price of £165 (about $2300) is the lowest in the market. He has no such sum, of course, but 11 shillings and 7 pence (about $3) weekly does not seem much compared with his salary, which is 3 pounds, 10 shillings (about $17.50). Also the down payment amounts to only £5 or $25.

After brief negotiations, Mr. Jones becomes the master of one of a line of multiple houses (most of the new houses are multiple, although recently bungalows have come into fashion). It has two floors (the second really an attic), a "servant's bedroom" (where Mr. Jones' mother-in-law sleeps), a little space in front for a few potted plants (most of the houses are built close to the sidewalk), and a long "garden" in the rear where the children wield cricket bats and Mrs. Jones hangs out tea towels.

High-pressure or not, houses like these have brought fresh air, green grass, and comfortable living accommodations to millions of people like John Jones, who formerly could not afford them. And all as a result of the building boom. Between November 1918 and September 1935 about 3,000,000 homes were built in Britain, and almost half of this number were completed during the five-year period ending 1935. (Approximately 80 per cent of these houses were built by private enterprise, without Government subsidy.) Undeniably, then, the British building boom by the exertions of private business has given a healthier, richer existence to a large section of the British people.

Where Is the Catch?

But as Americans who have watched the often fatal results of American high-pressure sales methods would suspect, there unfortunately exists in many cases another side to this picture. When Mr. Jones took that house in Woodmere Manor, he thought he was going to pay only $2300 for it and

that $3 weekly would be the only burden on his purse. He did not calculate that it would take about 20 years to pay for the establishment and with a rather stiff system of interest and principal amortization he would pay nearer $3400 for it. Besides, as a flat renter he did not reckon on "rates" (municipal taxes) which are usually quite as heavy as in many of the more expensive areas of the United States. Like many of his American counterparts, Mr. Jones also discovered that improvements—pavement, gas, light, water—must be paid for. The hire-purchase trust, in addition, took a nice slice of his income for the radio and furniture. (Buying furniture, radios, and automobiles on time has become a feature of the boom; hire-purchase, it is estimated, covers from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of all radios and autos.) After Mr. Jones pays for his commutation ticket, he finds that the house and all that it incurs takes about $10 out of his $17.50 weekly salary. The remainder does not go far towards buying food, clothing, and paying for other necessaries. In short, much the same kind of situation as faced Americans of the pre-1929 era who skimped on necessities to buy Fords.

Nor is that all. If he has been unlucky enough to strike a house erected by a dishonest contractor, he finds that the plaster cracks, the roof leaks, the concrete steps chip off and crumble, and other repairs appear. "Jerry building" and the "building ramp" have become familiar terms in Britain in recent years. Mr. R. Coppock, Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, says: "Speculative building has become such a definite menace that it can no longer be tolerated. Unscrupulous building speculators have swarmed in thousands, taking advantage of the housing shortage to run up worthless homes and foist them on unsuspecting victims. Thousands of houses are being sold every week, that have not a chance of lasting as long as the poor buyer's installment payments." The editor of the building page of one of London's Sunday papers showed me a row of multiple villas in a new estate and described how the occupants had fared with their purchases. Out of ten of these householders, two had defaulted on interest payments and the houses had been resold. Three others had found payments and repairs too onerous and had moved into the upper stories, renting the ground floors.

There are other evils. Planning of these suburbs has in many cases been carried out even more recklessly than in the case of some of our subdivision rackets. Driving out of London to Hendon one day with a British friend, I stopped in the midst of a new estate for a traffic light. A stench—as unmistakable as the odor of privies in a Mid-western farm—filled the atmosphere. I asked if a sewer pipe had broken. "Not at all," replied my friend, "this whole estate has been built over an old sewer deposit." Ribbon development is another abuse. By ribbon development, the British mean building a line of houses for miles along the arterial roads, leaving the hinterland vacant and increasing the costs of water, gas, light, and school service, not to mention endangering the lives of children on the road. Finally, the building boom has been used as a political football. On the eve of the 1935 general election, for instance, conservative elements tried to damage Labor's chances at the polls by charging that a Labor victory would mean confiscation of new private houses.

Under such circumstances, how long will the building boom last? At present, house-building has apparently declined slightly, but other forms of construction—factories, schools, hotels, etc.—have risen and taken up the slack. This decline, however, may be only temporary as former declines have been offset by spectacular recoveries. But even if building slumps badly, the general boom will continue, the City believes, for armaments will take the place of houses.

Enter Armaments

Indeed, the armament boom, building's closest competitor, has already taken a very important place in the recovery process. While government expenditures on armaments rose from £103.5 millions in 1932–3 to £158.2 millions in 1936–7, these figures by no means tell the story. Ever since the advent of Hitler and the revival of the world armament race, British industry has participated heavily in the thriving international munitions business. Exact statistics are lacking to prove this, but all responsible authorities in the City concede the point. The unprecedented production records of the steel, engineering, and aviation industries have derived their momentum in large part from the munitions business. Munitions factories have appeared mushroom-wise in various parts of the island, and Britain has been treated to the strange spectacle of Socialist borough councilors clamoring for the establishment of munitions factories in their districts.

But the armament boom has displayed its most striking effects in the field of finance. Shares of armament and particularly aviation firms have touched fabulous highs, and munitions millionaires have been created almost overnight. The financial editor of the *London Daily Herald* on February 21, 1936, estimated that £500 invested in five munitions and aviation stocks would have made their owners a profit of £4,600 or approximately 900 per cent in one year.

With such frenzied speculation, the British bull market has been characterized by features which recall the strenuous days in the United States just before the Wall Street crash of 1929. Just as the building boom spawned the "building ramp," so has the stock market boom produced equally undesirable characteristics. A dispatch to the *New York Post* on December 5, 1935, reveals some facts which may surprise those who assume that British financing necessarily follows sound and conservative lines. According to this dispatch, a total of £6,461,082 in aircraft securities were floated on the market. Of this sum, almost half or £3,120,753 went into profit to promoters or stock exchange firms. An extremely small proportion of money in some of these issues was used to pay for actual construction. In one case a firm spent only £32,247 on plant while flotation expenses of the loan amounted to £135,000. Other questionable practices such as "introductions" (similar to our "private lists") have appeared, and pools and corners have reared their ugly heads (witness the crash of the pepper market when the Howeson pepper corner failed in 1935).

Indeed, this change in British financial morality has had repercussions which suggest that British governmental purity is but a whited sepulchre. The Howeson scandal touched members of Parliament, and at least one cabinet resignation followed. The budget-leak scandal which caused the resignation of Minister J. H. Thomas revealed the connections between government and shady finance, and according to some reports the Thomas affair was played up in order to stifle investigation into far greater scandals. As for municipal corruption, Clough Williams-Ellis writing in *The Nineteenth Century*, by no means a muckraking journal, estimated that it may amount to about £45,000,000 annually.

Exit Free Trade

But if the shade of John Bright should return to the new England of today, it would be less horrified at the corruption than at a much more significant change. For, a hundred years ago, in the time of that great exponent of Free Trade, British manufacturers were more interested in selling their products to foreign countries than to the British Isles. Today, their outlook has been reversed. The sun which formerly never set on the investments and markets of the British Empire, now tends to describe

an orbit confined to Land's End and the Clyde. Statistics for 1936 show an unfavorable balance of trade—a large excess of imports over exports—and a lagging in the export trade, while the general trade advanced. This means two things: (1) that the increased imports were raw materials used in the domestic market and armament manufacture; and (2) that British exporters were losing foreign markets which had taken a century to build up. No wonder then that this year's meeting of the Big Five bank directors deplored the fact that, to quote *The Economist,* "export business was being turned away by manufacturers confident in their uninterrupted enjoyment of the protected home market and of cheap money."

This constitutes an almost revolutionary change, and as might be expected has had an effect, almost equally revolutionary, on British foreign policy. During the Ethiopian imbroglio, one of the great newspaper proprietors opposed the sanctions policy on the ground that it would lead Britain into war and upset business. His papers, formerly of a strongly imperialistic nature, had little to say about preserving the Empire and the route to India. This gentleman, it was reported, had invested heavily in the building materials trade, which presumably would suffer from war and rumors of war. This attitude provides, in part, an explanation of the surprising extent to which the Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments have gone in swallowing humiliations from the Germans and Italians and in sacrificing policies which in the past have been keystones of the Empire. Indeed, the elements in the Government which have wanted an aggressive defense of the Empire have been overshadowed by those which will make great sacrifices to preserve what they call "prosperity" at home.

Profits and Losses

In fact, to sum up on the British boom, the gains of "recovery" and "boom" must be extended in order to merit the term "prosperity." For while the boom has undoubtedly made Britain a happier, wealthier country, parts of the country's economy remain in the stagnant conditions of the twenties. The Depressed Areas—the Tyne, the Clyde, and South Wales—protrude like boils on the otherwise thriving skin. Sir John Orr's impressive charges last year, that almost half the population of Britain suffers from under-nourishment, have yet to be answered. There must be less high-pressure salesmanship in the American manner and more progress towards lower building costs to bring houses within reach of the pocket-books of the poorer classes. Profits have soared as a result of old-time Wall Street methods but wages have advanced but little. The domestic boom rests on foundations insecure enough to justify the business leaders who want to retain Britain's foreign trade, at least as a measure to alleviate a possible slump. In short, the British if they wish to prolong the boom, on the one hand must give heed to the export business, and on the other must distribute its benefits more widely—and soundly—over the economic landscape.

SENATOR WHEELER'S PLIGHT

The dilemma of one of the many liberals who opposed the court reform proposals

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

THE miner was rugged and slightly stooped. A scar ran along one side of his face. His bare forearm bore a tattooed U. S. eagle. He wore soiled jumpers and carried a lunch-pail off which most of the paint had been nicked. He was still spattered with dust from "The Richest Hill on Earth"—the copper peak of Butte, Montana—and he waited on the corner in front of the M & M cigar store for a lumbering old, orange-colored street car to take him home. He was engaged in earnest conversation with a fellow worker in the mines, who also waited carfare in hand.

"No, by gosh," loudly declared the miner with the scar, "I wouldn't vote for Wheeler for dog-catcher. He's sold out labor and gone over to the A.C.M. I'm through with him for good, and I've voted for him every time."

The other miner's reply was lost in the clatter of the approaching trolley, but he nodded in ostensible agreement.

Eight months ago in Montana it would have been a task of epic proportions to find a miner who was not a confirmed adherent of the State's senior United States Senator, Burton Kendall Wheeler. It would have been still more difficult to discover a miner willing to believe that Wheeler had become an ally of Montana's dominant corporative interest, the Anaconda Copper Mines.

One circumstance is responsible for this startling metamorphosis: Wheeler's leadership of the Senate opposition to the Roosevelt Supreme Court reform plan. More than any other adversary of the Court scheme, Wheeler risks his political career each day that he attacks it. The preponderant majority of what has heretofore constituted his main support seems to be vigorously behind the President on the judiciary issue.

The soul of the dominant public figure of the Rocky Mountain region must have been tried the February morning that he received this communication:

> Hon. Burton K. Wheeler,
> United States Senate
> Washington, D. C.
> Dear Senator Wheeler:
> At its regular meeting February 16th last the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council went on record as favoring the proposal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt for revision of the United States Supreme Court and other Federal courts.
> The opinion of the Council seemed to be that the present Supreme Court is composed mostly of former corporation lawyers, who naturally are not in sympathy with legislation that would be for the benefit of the common people. Also that Congress is almost helpless to pass legislation for the benefit of the people while the present Supreme Court remains unchanged.
> The Council instructed me to inform you of its action in this matter.
> Yours very truly,
>
> Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council,
> by Thomas Kennedy, secretary.

Since 1922, working people have been the principal operators of the political machine that has kept Wheeler in the Senate. Even before that—as long ago, in fact, as

BETWEEN TWO FIRES: Senator Burton Wheeler finds that he has alienated the support of his liberal following but is still "too radical" for the conservative bloc.

1910—he was elected to the State legislature with the votes of laborers and their families. For more than a quarter of a century he has been in politics as a partisan of labor and the underprivileged. The Supreme Court question presented the first potentially serious split between himself and the bulk of his constituents. Yet he thus concluded his reply to the Silver Bow County Labor Council:

> You don't agree with me now, but you *will* some time in the future.
>
> I regret exceedingly to disagree with those that I fought with, but I would sooner resign from the Senate of the United States than to vote for this proposition which I know is wrong, and which I know every liberal will regret *if it should become an accomplished fact.*

...Burton K. Wheeler, the senior ... State that is the third larg- ... from a ... 39th in population, is ... rea but th... sition of hav... anomalous p... atest admiratio...

bill from people who do not intend to vote for him.

I sat across the desk from the slightly corpulent managing editor of a conservative Montana newspaper. "I tell you," he said, pointing at the wall with a paper cutter, "Wheeler has gained immeasurably in stature by taking the lead against that damnable Court plan. He's shown himself to be a truly big and great-souled statesman."

"Let me ask you one question," I interrupted. "Will you vote for Wheeler when he comes up for reelection?"

"No," the newspaperman replied. "He's too darn radical."

This conversation is fairly symbolic of the political situation in the far-flung wilderness State that has been represented so long nationally by the economic and social philosophy of Wheeler and his late friend, Thomas J. Walsh. The persons in Montana enthusiastic over the senior Senator's vigorous attacks on the Roosevelt judicial reform legislation are persons who cannot be classified as Wheeler adherents.

It is different on the other side of the Bonanza State's political arena. The voters aroused to anger and indignation because Wheeler has been largely responsible for the bogging down of the President's judiciary legislation are voters who otherwise would be militant Wheeler followers. A ragged fellow selling the *Daily Worker* near an A.C.M. shaft said he had distributed Wheeler's literature in 1934. "But I'd roast in hell before I'd do it again," he cried vehemently.

President Roosevelt epitomizes to the voters the cause of the underprivileged. The workers in the A.C.M. shafts gave Roosevelt more than a 4-to-1 majority in Silver Bow County last year. His margin in the whole State was nearly 3 to 1. Copper ... 14 and 14½ cents and Mon... booming again. Butte is wide open; ... and roulette wheels entice men ... streets. Girls have packed

the cribs along "Venus Alley." Prices are high, and the men in the mines are earning $5.75 a day. A recent Department of Labor survey showed wages to be higher in Butte than in either Denver or Portland. This prosperity and bustle and hilarity are attributed by the workers to Roosevelt and his policies. Their present bitterness against Senator Wheeler emanates largely from the fact that they believe the President has helped them personally. They are interested from the same perspective as an angular brakeman on the Northern Pacific, who remarked:

"The doggone Supreme Court threw out the railway pension act. The President tried to get it through. I've voted for Wheeler since he first got into politics, but when he starts defending the Court that killed my pension— that's the end."

Not long ago Senator Wheeler returned to Montana for a brief visit. A rally arranged for him at Great Falls flopped dismally. His old labor supporters did not come, and neither did the admirers of his position on the Court issue.

Relatively few people ever thought they would see Burton K. Wheeler on shaky political ground in his home State. He is a tradition in Montana. Persons talk about what he wears and what he likes to eat. The Grand Hotel is a Butte landmark because the senior Senator owns it. A ranch near Missoula achieved fame when it became known that Wheeler occasionally stopped there for bacon and egg breakfasts. During the War the U. S. Attorney's office in Montana was occupied by Wheeler, and he ran squarely into the belligerents by refusing to prosecute members of the I.W.W. and other social nonconformists. The bitterest and most vituperative gubernatorial campaign in the history of the country's principal copper State took place in 1920, when Wheeler was the candidate of the forces opposing the Anaconda company. He was defeated, but the publicity attendant on the election enabled him to go to the Senate two years later. Opposing the A.C.M. in Montana is tantamount to challenging the du Ponts in Delaware or the steel companies in Pennsylvania. Yet Burton K. Wheeler has done it year after year and still kept his place in public life.

Now, for the first time since he ran with the elder La Follette for the Vice Presidency in 1924, Wheeler is in political danger. Because he has condemned not only the Supreme Court plan but also the Department of the Interior in general and the Indian Affairs office in particular. Wheeler will be flattened out under whatever weight the supporters of the New Deal can load on the Montana patronage juggernaut. By 1940 the effective leadership provided by Wheeler for the anti-Roosevelt faction may be forgotten, but not if young Congressman Jerry O'Connell has anything to say about it. O'Connell is considered the heir apparent to Wheeler's seat. He is for the Spanish loyalists, increasing the number of the Supreme Court Justices, and bigger relief appropriations. He is also a supporter of the C.I.O. and recently inserted in the *Congressional Record* a report of the Chicago riot and killings antagonistic to the Windy City police department. O'Connell would oppose Wheeler from the left—the first time in the latter's political history. Whether he runs against Wheeler, of course, will depend largely upon the future of the New Deal, and whether it dwindles out or survives as a political force.

The 1940 Senatorial election in Montana will provide an accurate test of the carry over of the antagonisms, prejudices, hysteria, and enthusiasms of the politics underlying President Roosevelt's celebrated Supreme Court reform plan. Then will the nemesis of Harry Daugherty and the running mate of "Battling Bob" La Follette sink into political oblivion because the men mining "The Richest Hill on Earth" think he has turned conservative?

BETWEEN TWO FIRES: Senator Burton Wheeler finds that he has alienated the support of his liberal following but is still "too radical" for the conservative bloc.

1910—he was elected to the State legislature with the votes of laborers and their families. For more than a quarter of a century he has been in politics as a partisan of labor and the underprivileged. The Supreme Court question presented the first potentially serious split between himself and the bulk of his constituents. Yet he thus concluded his reply to the Silver Bow County Labor Council:

> You don't agree with me now, but you will some time in the future.
> I regret exceedingly to disagree with those that I fought with, but I would sooner resign from the Senate of the United States than to vote for this proposition which I know is wrong, and which I know every liberal will regret if it should become an accomplished fact.

T.) .. Burton K. Wheeler, the senior State that is the third larg- 39th in population, is sition of having won for his marshaling Roosevelt judiciary bill from people who do not intend to vote for him.

I sat across the desk from the slightly corpulent managing editor of a conservative Montana newspaper. "I tell you," he said, pointing at the wall with a paper cutter, "Wheeler has gained immeasurably in stature by taking the lead against that damnable Court plan. He's shown himself to be a truly big and great-souled statesman."

"Let me ask you one question," I interrupted. "Will you vote for Wheeler when he comes up for reelection?"

"No," the newspaperman replied. "He's too darn radical."

This conversation is fairly symbolic of the political situation in the far-flung wilderness State that has been represented so long nationally by the economic and social philosophy of Wheeler and his late friend, Thomas J. Walsh. The persons in Montana enthusiastic over the senior Senator's vigorous attacks on the Roosevelt judicial reform legislation are persons who cannot be classified as Wheeler adherents.

It is different on the other side of the Bonanza State's political arena. The voters aroused to anger and indignation because Wheeler has been largely responsible for the bogging down of the President's judiciary legislation are voters who otherwise would be militant Wheeler followers. A ragged fellow selling the *Daily Worker* near an A.C.M. shaft said he had distributed Wheeler's literature in 1934. "But I'd roast in hell before I'd do it again," he cried vehemently.

President Roosevelt epitomizes to the voters the cause of the underprivileged. The workers in the A.C.M. shafts gave Roosevelt more than a 4-to-1 majority in Silver Bow County last year. His margin in the whole State was nearly 3 to 1. Copper is up around 14 and 14½ cents and Montana is booming again. Butte is wide open; faro games and roulette wheels entice men in from the main streets. Girls have packed

the cribs along "Venus Alley." Prices are high, and the men in the mines are earning $5.75 a day. A recent Department of Labor survey showed wages to be higher in Butte than in either Denver or Portland. This prosperity and bustle and hilarity are attributed by the workers to Roosevelt and his policies. Their present bitterness against Senator Wheeler emanates largely from the fact that they believe the President has helped them personally. They are interested from the same perspective as an angular brakeman on the Northern Pacific, who remarked:

"The doggone Supreme Court threw out the railway pension act. The President tried to get it through. I've voted for Wheeler since he first got into politics, but when he starts defending the Court that killed my pension—that's the end."

Not long ago Senator Wheeler returned to Montana for a brief visit. A rally arranged for him at Great Falls flopped dismally. His old labor supporters did not come, and neither did the admirers of his position on the Court issue.

Relatively few people ever thought they would see Burton K. Wheeler on shaky political ground in his home State. He is a tradition in Montana. Persons talk about what he wears and what he likes to eat. The Grand Hotel is a Butte landmark because the senior Senator owns it. A ranch near Missoula achieved fame when it became known that Wheeler occasionally stopped there for bacon and egg breakfasts. During the War the U. S. Attorney's office in Montana was occupied by Wheeler, and he ran squarely into the belligerents by refusing to prosecute members of the I.W.W. and other social nonconformists. The bitterest and most vituperative gubernatorial campaign in the history of the country's principal copper State took place in 1920, when Wheeler was the candidate of the forces opposing the Anaconda company. He was defeated, but the publicity attendant on the election enabled him to go to the Senate two years later. Opposing the A.C.M. in Montana is tantamount to challenging the du Ponts in Delaware or the steel companies in Pennsylvania. Yet Burton K. Wheeler has done it year after year and still kept his place in public life.

Now, for the first time since he ran with the elder La Follette for the Vice Presidency in 1924, Wheeler is in political danger. Because he has condemned not only the Supreme Court plan but also the Department of the Interior in general and the Indian Affairs office in particular, Wheeler will be flattened out under whatever weight the supporters of the New Deal can load on the Montana patronage juggernaut. By 1940 the effective leadership provided by Wheeler for the anti-Roosevelt faction may be forgotten, but not if young Congressman Jerry O'Connell has anything to say about it. O'Connell is considered the heir apparent to Wheeler's seat. He is for the Spanish loyalists, increasing the number of the Supreme Court Justices, and bigger relief appropriations. He is also a supporter of the C.I.O. and recently inserted in the *Congressional Record* a report of the Chicago riot and killings antagonistic to the Windy City police department. O'Connell would oppose Wheeler from the left—the first time in the latter's political history. Whether he runs against Wheeler, of course, will depend largely upon the future of the New Deal, and whether it dwindles out or survives as a political force.

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HOW DANGEROUS IS JAPAN?

A pacific people is goaded by the Army, whose bluff can scarcely risk a showdown

By MARC T. GREENE

AMERICANS know less about the Japanese temperament than they do about Japanese politics, and that is next to nothing at all. They understand Japanese character as well as they do Japanese psychology, and that is absolute zero.

Literature on Japan, past and current, has been voluminous enough. But its very quantity has been confusing. But the American concludes, the journalistic trend of thought of the moment being in that direction, that Japan is probably an economic if not a political menace to the rest of the world.

It is mostly guesswork with him at that. However much confidence he may have in his favorite daily newspaper and its foreign service, he knows that authoritarianism is strong enough in Japan to be able to erect, as in Italy and Germany, an impassable barrier between the position as it really is and the world's understanding of it. So the American is all at sea in trying to size up the situation in Japan. And he is equally off soundings in his endeavor to understand the Japanese people.

And yet it is so simple, after all. For here are millions of people, desperately overcrowding a country the size of the British Isles and only a sixth of which is really arable, all trying to sustain their existence. The pathos lies in the fact that they are satisfied with so little. Go about the country, in the villages, even into the poorer parts of the large cities, and mark the measure of contentment that prevails.

Are these millions of peasantry, these city industrial workers who are laboring at the highest kind of high pressure for little more than the subsistence minimum that Japan may expand her foreign trade and thus build up an enduring economic structure, are they all to go on securing even that little? Or are they to be crushed entirely by the burden of an enormous military establishment almost certain to force the country into a foreign war?

That is the main issue for Japan and it was never more clearly defined than at this moment. It is inseparably associated with the political issue, which is one of authoritarianism or democracy. By the way the two are decided Japan will stand or fall, be a menace to the world or a friend.

The world, especially America, is apt to conclude that the whole Japanese attitude toward the rest of the world is a definitely aggressive one, that the whole country is in the grip of the militaristic obsession, that Japan is swayed from end to end by the "will-to-power," and is therefore dangerous.

Nothing could be farther from the facts. And if it were a question, or even in any considerable degree a question, of the will of the Japanese people *en masse* there would be little for the world to apprehend. What more convincing proof of that is necessary than the May election, when the two parties representing not only the hopes and wishes of the common people, but also the views of the middle class and the demands of the great industrialists, swamped the militaristic Hayashi Government? Yet on the day following this decisive result the Army itself, throwing all its cards face up on the

table, prepared this statement and caused the War Minister to submit it to Premier Hayashi:

> Resignation by the Government at the present time would nullify the effect of the effort to have the political parties engage in self-examination embodied in the dissolution of the Lower House. It is up to the Government to watch the Parties for a while to ascertain whether or not they have gained the proper conception of the situation.

The naive precocity of this would be laughable if the potentialities of such an attitude were not so deadly. The two popular political parties have overwhelmed the Government at the polls, but that is a mere childlike gesture of defiance sure to be regretted as soon as those parties, having engaged in "self-examination" under the Army's watchful eye, have "gained the proper conception of the situation," that is to say, realized the unpatriotic enormity of what they have done in opposing the Army's will. After that other measures will be in order, and unless the people resist them the last vestiges of democracy will indeed have disappeared from Japan, and she will have become a menace to peace.

We have seen that the Japanese masses have no aggressive intent toward other peoples. It is not, of course, easy to develop such an intent in a race so largely illiterate, but every possible effort is being made by the Army-backed régime to do so. In this the radio, found today in many of the humblest Japanese homes, is playing the most prominent part. The leading newspapers, such as the well-known *Asahi*, are opposing the blatant attitude of the Government in flouting the public will so far as they dare, which is not very far.

But for every one of these leaders twenty small town sheets are disseminating Army propaganda. The smaller the town and the less literate the readers, the more preposterous is the character of this sort of printed propaganda. The people are told that if only they will back the army and "defend Japanese nationalism against the foreigners who would destroy it," Japan will some day attain to the "complete dominance of the Pacific," and compel a "reverent respect" from all the world. After which the economic position will be so greatly improved that every farmer will at least be sure of tomorrow's handful of rice.

Only one in ten or less among the peasants can read this, but he can spread it. The radio, which all can understand, supplements and emphasizes the press propaganda, and there are few sections of Japan too remote to be reached by it.

There is no doubt whatever that the studied and thoroughly-organized Government propaganda is having its effect even upon the naturally well-disposed Japanese masses. Moreover, anyone who is unresponsive to it runs a strong chance of trouble, and perhaps of personal danger. The Government has its spies everywhere. Numberless arrests occur weekly for "dissemination of dangerous thoughts."

And yet the May election strikingly declared the slow progress the military régime is making in its endeavor to convert the Japanese people to an aggressive and militant imperialism. The fact is that the Japanese are simply not constituted that way. They are, on the contrary, temperamentally friendly, kind-hearted, anxious to please all foreigners.

You hear plenty of stories about commercial sharp practice and various deceptive recourses but they relate only to the industrialists, whose argument is that Japan's position is desperate and to remedy it any and all means are justifiable.

Said the leading Osaka newspaper *Mainichi* the other day:

> When other nations tell us our standard of living is now, we do not like it. . . . As a rising nation, pioneering its own way through handicap and hard-

ship we are ready to make greater sacrifices than those who are enjoying already the fruits of past struggles. . . . If other nations are afraid to compete with Japan's low production cost, they are simply advised not to irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much longer. It is not Japan, but her foreign competitors who are keeping the labor cost in Japan so low. Give us a chance to speed up our transformation from an empire-builder to an empire-preserver. That will mean the basic solution of the so-called world economic problem concerning Japan.

This very succinctly sets forth the Japanese point of view in the matter of cheap production. Note the words "empire-preserver." This cheap production, "dumping" if you prefer to call it that, must go on and in increasing measure in order to preserve the empire. And so, although it is frankly acknowledged that the low wage-scale and resultant low living-standards constitute a "sore spot," yet the only way that spot can ever be healed is to keep up this pace and go on enduring these sacrifices until the economic position has been made secure.

It is typical of present Japanese economic policy, but do not condemn it as typical of Japanese character generally. If you get among the people at all you will encounter a friendly and well-disposed folk, desiring the world's good will.

And that is, in the main, the Japanese temperament. Chief among the exceptions are those of the military profession, the leaders, though by no means the rank and file, either of Army or Navy. I talked one day with the head waiter in a prominent hotel restaurant. He had been on Japanese European liners and spoke English. But lately he had completed a term of army service. Having gained his confidence a little, I asked, "How did you like the Army? And how did your comrades like it?"

Then he surprised me. Glancing quickly about, he took one of the menus and wrote on it lightly in pencil this curious sentence, "Our —— is not in it." Where I have drawn a line he had roughly shaped a tiny heart. "Our heart is not in it." Characteristically Japanese.

And there you have it. Of course their hearts are not in it. Nine out of every ten Japanese desire peace, amity with other nations, and an end to the increasingly rigid militaristic régime. Some of that nine tenths, like the large merchant class and the great industrialists whose prosperity depends on foreign trade, even the powerful banking and shipping interests like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, would have peace because an enduring peace and that alone can mean prosperity for Japan. But the average Japanese is friendly by temperament, and I challenge anyone who knows Japan to establish the contrary.

The other exceptions to the general tendency toward non-aggression and anti-militarism are various elements of the younger Japanese, a large part of the student class, idle pleasure-seeking sons of the rich, a few of the aristocracy, and the relatively small group of sincere believers in the political principle of authoritarianism.

The "young Japanese group," as it likes to call itself, is the counterpart of the young Fascists and Blackshirts in Italy and the young Nazis in Germany. If you, as a foreign tourist, have any unpleasant experiences in Japan, it is practically certain to be from this group. Indeed, it can hardly be from anybody else. But it is the fashion among Japanese students to sneer at the foreigner and at all things foreign. But never do the Japanese people as a whole the injustice of concluding that it is symbolic of the general attitude to the rest of the world.

That attitude, however, has little chance of declaring itself as things are at present

and less of influencing the official, which is the military, position. In civil differences in any country the side having the military with it generally wins. In Japan one side *is* the military, with a certain following. The other side is the people represented in the Seiyukai and Minseito Parties, with able leaders tied of hand and gagged of mouth. In the Diet dissolved just before the recent election these were unable to make any stand against the passage of a budget which devoted more than half its total to the fighting services, or for the very necessary revision of the election laws and more than 40 other measures having to do with the economic and social welfare of the people. All of them were passed by because disregarded by the Army and Navy. Ignored likewise was the protest by the people's representatives against the crushing and ever-increasing burden of taxation while the largest budget in the nation's history was forced through by Army-Navy threats and bullying. That means the total debt will reach the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 yen ($3,500,000,000) next year, having increased more than 735,000,000 yen within twelve months.

It is clear that only a rapid expansion of foreign trade will sustain such a burden. And when the business and commercial leaders of Japan contemplate an unfavorable trade balance for the first four months of the present year of 390,000,000 yen, it makes them more than ever dissatisfied and uneasy. Such an unfavorable balance, more than double that of the same period of 1936, has the utmost significance. First, of course, it reveals the extent of Japanese foreign purchases of raw materials, chiefly for military purposes, and those mostly of steel and copper. Yet despite such purchases the steel shortage is so acute that 20,000,000 yen worth of commercial and general construction work has had to be abandoned to the demands of the military establishment for the metal. Clearly disclosed, then, is the extent of "preparedness" plans in Japan, and their huge expense to the people.

Assuming that the militaristic party is able to carry through its program, just how dangerous will Japan become to the peace of the world? The recklessness, amounting almost to madness, of the Army and Navy in their insistence on a more aggressive foreign policy, and their precocious confidence in their ability to "bluff" the world on the basis of past successes, both lend to the threat its dangerous character. Between this and the economic menace there is little or no association, and the latter can be met effectively by a number of means, while the former can be countered only by similar "bluff," which, failing, inevitably means force.

Such being the nature of the Japanese threat, just what is behind it? Just how great is the power to enforce the "bluff" if "called"?

Four fundamental causes detract from that power, and eliminate Japan as a real danger, at least more than temporary, to the peace of the world. They are, in order of significance, as follows:

(1) The ominous financial position and economic weakness due to an unfavorable trade balance, heavy debt burden, and excessive taxation.

(2) The destruction of foreign trade consequent upon a large-scale war.

(3) The physical condition of the Japanese workers and peasantry, who would have to be drawn upon heavily in the event of war with a first-class power, resulting from years of intensive labor under hard and sometimes inhuman conditions and upon a low standard of living, and their temperamental disinclination for war.

(4) The ineffectiveness of the Japanese military establishment, considered from the standpoint of a first-class power, modern equipment and European morale.

Number one has been outlined in sufficient detail, though it would be possible to adduce much more evidence. Number two is too obvious to require comment. Number three is equally clear to anyone at all acquainted with prevailing conditions. Number four perhaps demands some elucidation.

The fact is, of course, that Japan, though her militarists are fond of claiming that she has never known defeat in war, has never encountered anything like a first-class power. It is only absurd to base any boastful claims on the conflict with Russia. It was no more a conflict with a first-class power than was the affair at Shanghai in 1931. And anyone who was there knows how little military glory that "incident" reflected upon the Japanese and how far it was from establishing any just claim to military prowess.

Whence, then, comes this notion that has gained so much ascendancy throughout the world, especially in America, that Japan is a dangerous threat to a first-class military power?

Is it because of such frenzied, perfervid, fanatic nationalism as was widely publicized through the Shanghai "human-bomb" episode, and the fear that a people who, as it appears, willingly die rather than yield are very dangerous? But there are plenty of equivalent happenings in the war annals of every people. And in any case such frenzy soon exhausts itself, both physically and psychologically.

Moreover, in air strength, more important than everything else combined in modern warfare, as we have seen proven conclusively enough lately in Spain, the Japanese are notoriously ineffective. Not for an instant could they withstand the enormous and highly efficient Soviet air force stationed at Vladivostok, to take one example, and they know that perfectly well. And even if they could hope to bring Germany into a war with Russia on the west, how would that save Japan in the east?

War with America? Even if the militarists should embark upon so reckless an enterprise, it is more than doubtful that they could carry the country with them. The people of Japan as a whole feel more friendly to America today than in years. They want no misunderstanding with us and, so far as anything that is of the future can, in days like these, be forecast with any certainty, they will have none.

And upon what basis is founded the high regard for Japanese naval strength that keeps the Pacific side of America so apprehensive? Granted the power and the modernity of Japanese naval units on paper, what about the personnel, its fighting effectiveness and its morale? The only available standard of judgment is again the war with Russia.

There is no intent to affront the Japanese by unfair criticism of their fighting forces, but for the good of all concerned it is time this bogey of the Japanese menace was laid. The fact is that Japan in her present condition could not sustain a large-scale foreign war unaided for a month. Furthermore, the Japanese people would certainly mutiny as soon as the myth of invincibility so carefully built up by systematic propaganda were exploded by one bad defeat. As a people they do not want war. They want peace in order to carry on their industries and secure a decent standard of living and freedom from apprehension, from uncertainty of what the future holds. Only the strongest kind of assurance that war would presently bring all those things, together with an increased measure of world-prestige, could induce them to accept it. And as soon as that assurance were destroyed, as would speedily happen, there would be revolution. That may come as it is, if military despotism continues and the economic burden it involves grows heavier.

CAMERAS DON'T LIE

Suppressed newsreels of the South Chicago strike massacre pose a censorship question

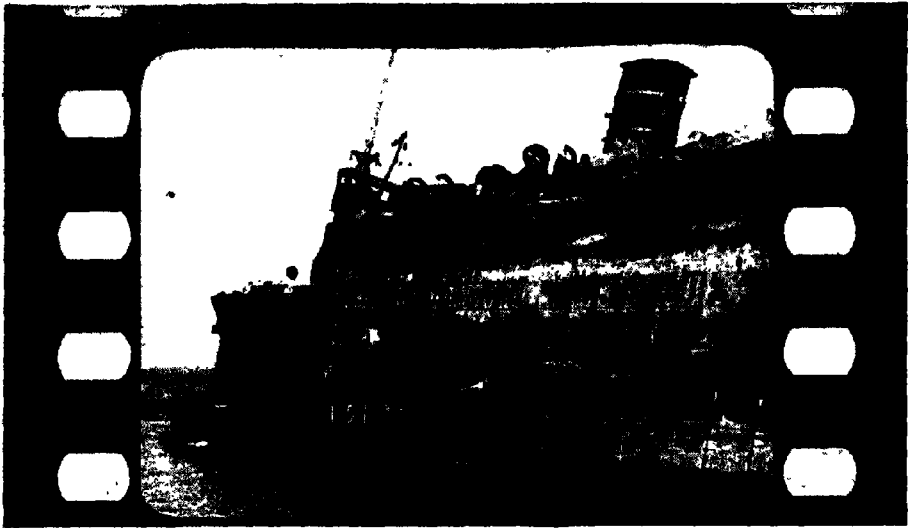
By W. CARROLL MUNRO

OCCASIONALLY some signal happening focuses the attention of the nation upon the movies as a primary vehicle of information and as an instrument of mass propaganda. Of vital interest today are the newsreels and still pictures made of the clash between police and strikers at the gates of the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago. What value as evidence of police brutality these pictures possess is left to the decision of each reader after a study of the graphic description of the film published in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. (*See* p. 41.)

But of greater importance than the official violence upon a body of unarmed citizenry was the original decision of Paramount News to shelve the newsreel on the grounds that its showing would incite to riot. Legitimate reasons from the Paramount's standpoint are adduced in support of this decision: first, the newsreel editors act under the editorial right to withdraw pictures "not fit to be seen"; secondly, such a prerogative is analogous to the editorial right exercised by newspapers to quash news "not fit to print."

Even conceding that these excuses have a basis in fact, it is nevertheless a cynical confession from the newsreel agencies who in their self-congratulatory moments have drooled loud and often of their enslavery to those mystical gods—integrity and or public service. In the past they have protested vehemently whenever their more flagrant vulgarity has been called to task, as, for instance, the incidents recorded by newsreel companies at the *Morro Castle* disaster. Will anyone ever forget those grief-crazed and fearful persons who were dragged before the battery of newsreel cameras and sound microphones and prodded into mumbling incoherently of their misery. That was really news reporting in the raw. And the newsreel companies made the most of it. Yet they protested their innocence. After all, weren't they redeeming their oath to truth and public sentiment? And what were the bruised sensibilities of a few half-dead survivors when it came to serving up the proper dish of horror to newsreel fans throughout the nation?

From this incident it is obvious that a proper indictment might be drawn with ease against the newsreel companies. An indictment, but not a true bill. With justice it has been pointed out that the newsreels have served adequately in the reportorial field. And it is asserted that if they have revealed vulgar flaws, it is only because man is less than flawless.

But what are these flaws? And isn't it fair to assume that if the suppression of the strike pictures constitutes a flaw it is more deliberate than fortuitous, more cunning than innocent. As a matter of record, the newsreel film is not subjected to the censorship of the Hays office, although they are submitted before release to State boards of censors. These boards may- and have—deleted scenes on moral and political grounds, with the latter prerogative very rarely employed. Perhaps the one outstanding example of political deletion [illegible] the decision by the Kansas Board of Rev[illegible] to eliminate from a *March of Time* episod[illegible]

Universal Newsreel Copyright 1937

NO CENSORSHIP HERE: The Morro Castle disaster was one of the greatest newsreel "stories" of the twentieth century and no details, however gruesome, were omitted. Officials of Paramount News, however, suppressed the reel of the South Chicago strike as liable to "incite to riot."

a speech by Senator Wheeler opposing the Supreme Court reorganization plan.

In contrast, Europe boasts a censorship that is hard and fast. England strictly edited all Coronation films and banned altogether the newsreel shots of the Duke of Windsor's wedding to Mrs. Warfield. And Italy, in retaliation to anti-Italian attacks in the British press, refused all pictures reflecting favorably upon the British Empire. Since this censorship, however, is wholly foreign and expected, it makes little impression upon the American who has not yet been disabused of the fiction of a free press and a free theatre.

Is it not strange, therefore, that the Paramount Company should find scenes of the Chicago strike too horrible for revelation to our brave citizens who have been calloused by Hollywood gangster movies, and newsreel shots of human incineration. This is a confusing situation since it involves just what effect the movies have in general, and what effect the pictures of a brutal injustice have in particular on the masses of people. It is a fact that movies, whether purely for entertainment, or newsreels professing to report accurately the day-to-day happenings, have a profound influence on the people who pay to see them. Not even if labeled "pure fiction" can the cinema destroy what it strives so painstakingly to capture—the illusion of reality. So skillfully, so artfully, so deeply rooted in the minutiae of life, the people portrayed are so real as to seem like participants in everyday life. It is an amusing fact that movie actors try their best to look like gentlemen; and gentlemen, taking their cue, try to simulate the screen version of a gentleman. The movies, in an effort to remain intelligible to the lowest common denominator of their audience, have adopted conventionalized symbols of wealth, leisure, poverty, success, failure, passion. And this practice in itself is harmless enough and often amusing. But the movie producers have found more subtle and annoying ways to employ these

symbols as a medium of propaganda. Excluding some outstanding exceptions, the movie audience is shown the common laborer as a stupid fellow, more nearly beast than man, and at all times an object of ridicule, while the society symbol is more flattering and overlaid with a phony culture. The movie villain, of course, is a dark foreigner, and for the vilest anti-social conduct the movie people usually reserve the maligned Chinese.

Of course, this is propaganda in its most digestible form, although critics of the social order insist that in devious ways such symbolisms serve the masters right handily in preserving their balance on the necks of the jackasses who are exposed to movie influence. From China comes an interesting comment on the international aspects of movie symbolism. The *China Weekly Review*, published in Shanghai, points out: "An interesting feature of Hollywood movie production in recent years is the plethora of productions that are exceedingly complimentary to the British. Take for example, such films as *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, *Lloyds of London*, *The Bengal Lancers*, and others. For some reason or other, when ship scenes are shown, the officers usually wear the British uniform. By the same token it is to be noted that there are hardly any films that are complimentary to Germany. It seems that the Israelites who are the main financiers of Hollywood productions are in this subtle way expressing their debt of gratitude to the British for their assistance, as opposed to the Jew-baiting policy of Herr Hitler."

To the foreigner these little mass conditioners which would pass unnoticed at home, are easily distinguishable. The foreigner is accustomed to viewing national movie productions as something primarily concerned with propaganda and only secondarily concerned with entertainment. In this, Hollywood differs. Entertainment above all; anything for a laugh. Hollywood producers consider propaganda as an afterthought. A recent example of primary propaganda in the movies as conceived abroad came as a sequel to the showing of the picture *The Good Earth* in the Far East. The Chinese praised the movie for its graphic fidelity; the Japanese were displeased with its message. The universal appeal of the soil, the age-old struggle of man and his progeny reminded them all too poignantly of the endurance of China, of Chinese life-roots thrust so far into the bosom of the earth that to uproot them would wrinkle half the globe. To counteract the propaganda in the film, in this case simply a sympathetic portrayal of Chinese life, the Japanese imported German technicians to make a picture called the *New Earth*. The result was expected. With its primary emphasis on propaganda calculated to make the recalcitrant Japanese farmers rush to the new land in Manchukuo, the film was atrocious entertainment. In Hollywood that could not happen.

And the newsreels are more or less pasted together in the same tradition as the Hollywood product. If a film must be angled to reflect favorably on the ruling classes, the cutting occurs in the office of the editor. As a general rule the newsreel companies present the facts as the camera finds them: and it is noteworthy that the cameraman did not stop cranking in South Chicago when the police went to work on the strikers. As an employee he handled his job and turned the result over to the editors, who in this instance took it upon themselves to guard the public morals. The movie-goers wonder, however, what would have been done with the film if the action had been in reverse, if the C. I. O. pickets had slaughtered the police. Would the reel have been similarly censored or would it have been released and played up by the labor-hating press to insure the masses a well advertised opportunity to view the latest episode of "John L. Lewis and his

Universal Newsreel Copyright 1937

***LIFE OF A CAMERAMAN:** The men who turn the cranks for the newsreel companies must be prepared to face all emergencies, as in this case, for example, when they had to "shoot" a strike riot. Their job is done when they turn the films over to the editors, who, in many cases, take it upon themselves to "guard the public morals."*

gang of C. I. O. murderers?" And there is little doubt that a large section of the press is deeply concerned about the Paramount strike film. Embarrassing questions would certainly annoy them, since their sturdy reporters seemed to have missed altogether the massacre the camera recorded.

Free press? Free movies? Is the suppression of truth the essence of this freedom? And in the final analysis, the suppression of the strike pictures was the suppression of the truth. Had the film shown but one woman clubbed to her knees by police batons it would have been worthy of presentation to the American people. As it was, scores were mowed down by police gunfire. And the reasons offered by the Paramount Company for the suppression of this testimony were ingenious but not convincing. Nothing can change the fact that in a crucial struggle involving the whole American people, and in the face of false evidence scattered by a venal press anxious to distort and obscure the facts concerning the Chicago massacre, the Paramount Company withheld testimony essential to the case of labor. In this instance the goddess of truth was not raped, she was strangled. And the murder was sanctified by the belief that to acquaint the American people with the truth would be to tax their patience beyond endurance.

It is of little importance that the newsreels were belatedly released. It merely demonstrates, once again, the necessity for eternal vigilance and for the permanent tenure of such organizations as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, which in this instance successfully defeated censorship.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND A NEWSPAPER

It was not until the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH *published the following vivid word-picture of the newsreel taken of the Memorial Day Massacre in South Chicago that public sentiment began to form against suppression of the film by Paramount News:*

The following description of the [Paramount] picture comes from a person who saw it several times and had a particular interest in studying it closely for detail. Its accuracy is beyond question.

The first scenes show police drawn up in a long line across a dirt road which runs diagonally through a large open field, then turns into a street which is parallel to, and some 200 yards distant from, the high fence surrounding the Republic mill. The police line extends forty or fifty yards on each side of the dirt road. Behind the line, and in the street beyond, nearer the mill, are several patrol wagons and numerous reserve squads of police.

Straggling across the field, in a long, irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300—approximately the same as the police—although it is known that some 2,000 strike sympathizers were watching the march from a distance.

A vivid close-up shows the head of the parade being halted at the police line. The flag-bearers are in front. Behind them the placards are massed. They bear such devices as: "Come On Out—Help Win the Strike"; "Republic vs. the People" and "C.I.O." Between the flagbearers is the marchers' spokesman, a muscular young man in shirt sleeves with a CIO button on the band of his felt hat.

He is arguing earnestly with the police officer who appears to be in command. His vigorous gestures indicate that he is insisting on permission to continue through the police line, but in the general din of yelling and talking his words cannot be distinguished. His expression is serious, but no suggestion of threat or violence is apparent. The police officer, whose back is to the camera, makes one impatient gesture of refusal, and says something which cannot be understood.

Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. The camera catches approximately a dozen falling simultaneously in a heap. The massive, sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds.

Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flailing. At the same time tear-gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. The only discernible case of resistance is that of a marcher with a placard on a stick which he uses in an attempt to fend off a charging policeman. He is successful only for an instant. Then he goes down under a shower of blows.

The scenes which follow are among the most harrowing of the picture. Although the ground is strewn with dead and wounded, and the mass of the marchers are in precipitate flight down the dirt road and across the field, a number of individuals, either through foolish hardihood, or because they have not yet realized what grim and deadly business is in progress around them, have remained behind, caught in the midst of the charging police.

In a manner which is appallingly businesslike, groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals and go to work on them with their clubs.

In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would wield a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head, and still another is whipping him across the back.

These men try to protect their heads with their arms, but it is only a matter of a second or two until they go down. In one such scene, directly in the foreground, a policeman gives the fallen man a final smash on the head before moving on to the next job.

In the front line during the parley with the police is a girl, not more than five feet tall, who can hardly weigh more than 100 pounds. Under one arm she is carrying a

purse and some newspapers. After the first deafening volley of shots she turns, to find that her path to flight is blocked by a heap of fallen men. She stumbles over them, apparently dazed.

The scene shifts for a moment, then she is seen going down under a quick blow from a policeman's club, delivered from behind. She gets up, and staggers around. A few moments later, she is shown being shoved into a patrol wagon, blood cascading down her face and spreading over her clothing.

Preceding this episode, however, is a scene which, for sheer horror, outdoes the rest. A husky, middle-aged, bareheaded man has found himself caught far behind the rear ranks of the fleeing marchers. Between him and others, policemen are as thick as flies, but he elects to run the gauntlet. Astonishingly agile for one of his age and build, he runs like a deer, leaping a ditch, dodging as he goes. Surprised policemen take hasty swings as he passes them. Some get him on the back, some on the back of the head, but he keeps on his feet and keeps going.

The scene is bursting with a frightful sort of drama. Will he make it? The suspense is almost intolerable to those who watch. It begins to look as if he will get through. But no! The police in front have turned around now, and are waiting for him. Still trying desperately he swings to the right. He has put his hands up, and is holding them high over his head as he runs.

It is no use. There are police on the right. He is cornered. He turns, still holding high his hands. Quickly the bluecoats close in and the night sticks fly—above his head, from the sides, from the rear. His upraised arms fall limply under the flailing blows, and he slumps to the ground in a twisting fall, as the clubs continue to rain on him.

CIO officers report that when one of the victims was delivered at an undertaking establishment, it was found that his brains literally were beaten out, his skull crushed by blows.

Ensuing scenes are hardly less poignant. A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. Two policemen try to make him stand up, to get into a patrol wagon, but when they let him go his legs crumple, and he falls with his face in the dirt, almost under the rear step of the wagon. He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground.

A man over whose white shirt front the blood is spreading perceptibly is dragged to the side of the road. Two or three policemen bend over and look at him closely. One of them shakes his head. and slips a newspaper under the wounded man's head. There is a plain intimation that he is dying. A man in civilian clothing comes up, feels his pulse a moment, then drops the hand, and walks away. Another, in a uniform which might be that of a company policeman, stops an instant, looks at the prostrate figure, and continues on his way.

The scene shifts to the patrol wagons in the rear. Men with bloody heads, bloody faces, bloody shirts, are being loaded in. One, who apparently has been shot in the leg, drags himself painfully into the picture with the aid of two policemen. An elderly man, bent almost double, holding one hand on the back of his head, clambers painfully up the steps and slumps onto the seat, burying his face in both hands. The shoulders of his white shirt are drenched with blood.

There is continuous talking, but it is difficult to distinguish anything with one exception—out of the babble there arises this clear and distinct ejaculation:

"God Almighty!"

The camera shifts back to the central scene. Here and there is a body sprawled in what appears to be the grotesque indifference of death. Far off toward the outer corner of the field, whence they came originally, the routed marchers are still in flight, with an irregular line of policemen in close pursuit. It is impossible to discern, at this distance, whether violence has ended.

A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks into a sudden grin, he makes motions of dusting off his hands and strides away. The film ends.

ARMS OVER EUROPE

The first of a series of articles, outlining Great Britain's standing in the war derby

By CURT L. HEYMANN

NINETEEN years after the end of the war that was fought to end all wars, the world is closer to a new conflict than ever before. Europe has chosen to indulge in an orgy of armaments, and the world has become accustomed to think in terms of war rather than in terms of peace. With the Ethiopian conflict liquidated and the Spanish civil war raging on, the chancelleries of Europe—their good intentions taken for granted—prepare for the unavoidable. When and where the spark will explode the powder keg is the only uncertain factor in the calculation.

That is why at times, whenever international diplomacy succeeds in ironing out a dangerous situation, observers close to the march of events boast that "war is not imminent." But when I discussed the question of war or peace with a cool-headed Britisher, whose opinion on European affairs carries a good deal of weight, he avoided a preliminary argument as to the cause of a new conflict since he reckoned with such a possibility. Carrying the discussion to the next stage, that of actual warfare, he bluntly said: "The Nazi Government will not declare war before it shoots."

To him, this was the danger point of the whole situation, and to me, his statement seemed the more remarkable because it was made long before the Germans answered the attack on the *Deutschland*. Once more, Great Britain intervened. Through her ambassador to Berlin she assured the Reich that if the Germans would keep the peace they would find they had not a more sincere and more useful friend in the world than Great Britain.

Germany's prompt and drastic reprisal was effected on the theory—to quote the German Air Minister Hermann Goering—that "when German blood has flowed, it can not be made good with ink." In an earlier Almeria incident British blood flowed. On May 13, the British destroyer *Hunter* was badly damaged by a mine off that Spanish port. The explosion killed eight of the crew and injured twenty-four. It took the British Government four weeks to investigate the case. When it was finally found that a mine laid by the Insurgents' patrolling vessels was to be blamed for the catastrophe, Downing Street replied—with ink!*

It is this kind of British diplomacy that, so far, has kept the Empire out of war, and, if continued successfully, may result in avoiding further impending dangers. It is a skilful diplomacy that is able to find a compromise under aggravating conditions. Yet it has also been described as "intelligent cowardice." When the mighty dreadnought *Hood* appeared last April at the three-mile limit off blockaded and besieged Bilbao, she could have easily blown to pieces the small rebel craft blockading British freighters with food cargoes. She could have done so without the slightest danger to her own strategic position. She did not—and saved the peace of Europe. Up to now, the British fleet has led the rival powers off the battlefield.

*In a dispatch from London, Augur revealed in the *New York Times* on June 18, that the bombardment of Almeria was "a mere nothing compared with the action contemplated by Hitler."

—From the Glasgow (Scotland) Record.

IT TAKES A BIT OF DOING!

But Clement Attlee, Laborite leader, deploring in the Commons "the failure of His Majesty's Government to give protection to British merchant ships on their lawful occasions," demanded a vote of censure in the face of Baldwin's plea for caution, and the Dean of Canterbury called the Prime Minister down for his "cowardly surrender." A strange paradox indeed, this line-up of Liberals and Socialists, strengthened by the clergy, for a hasty, probably war-involving decision, while otherwise nationalistic and more aggressive Conservatives barricade themselves behind less heroic but safer means of defense!

This policy of "safety first," inaugurated by Mr. Baldwin, continued by Mr. Chamberlain, and executed by Mr. Eden, is in his own words poor-spirited because "we refuse to lead Europe over a precipice." Yet one wonders if and to what extent that attitude of caution has not its real cause in the outcome of the Ethiopian war and in the developments which during that conflict played such an important, and for the British interests in the Mediterranean not at all favorable part. British statesmanship and prestige were at stake. They suffered a severe blow when the British Home Fleet failed to call the bluff and when there was nothing left for the British than to swallow the Italian pill. If in his forthcoming memoirs, Mr. Baldwin should recall that headache, he may some day tell us that his statement, "our frontier is on the Rhine," was somewhat premature. . . .

But the British are optimists and for good reason. Some 10,000 have been killed in Ethiopia and in Spain so far, yet England's record is clear. There are no English casualties. Englishmen could, if they wanted to, have cooled their ardor for adventure in an alien country, fought for an alien nation, and died on either side of a tangle, also alien to their own cause. They preferred not to. International conferences on armament, economic and monetary problems, which Britain tried to encourage, failed. So did sanctions, arbitration, the League of Nations, the "Locarno spirit," and the rest. The Grand Old Fleet came home and joined in the Coronation celebrations, almost unreal in a realistic world strangling in armor, and after the greatest constitutional crisis the Empire ever faced. Did the proverbial British lion realize that roaring alone was not enough to be heard unless his claws were sufficiently sharp to enforce his will for peace? He did.

Out of the ashes of a doomed war spirit arose a new phoenix: the British rearmament program. Last February, with the announcement that it would embark on its greatest and costliest program of a five-year rearmament plan, the British Government issued a White Paper, estimating an expenditure of approximately $7,500,000,000 for the enlargement and modernization of its land, sea, and air forces. It told more than any cabinet minister was able to tell. It startled the world—and the British taxpayer. Because this program meant that Britain would spend something like $5,000,-

000 on armaments every weekday for the next five years, that taxation despite heavy government borrowings would increase, and that the entire industrial resources of the country would be strained to the limit to turn out weapons of destruction. Yet the House received this staggering intimation without flinching. There was even an approving rumble of "Hear, hear!" when Mr. Chamberlain, in a matter-of-fact tone, served notice on the world that even the proposed expenditure might not be enough to fulfill the British Government's purpose.

In detail, this year's program, which was started with the new financial year last April, provides:

For the Navy: Three new battleships costing at least $10,000,000 apiece, probably of 35,000 tons each, with a speed of 27 knots and main armament of 14-inch guns. Seven new cruisers, two of which will probably be of 9,000 tons and five of 5,000 tons. Two aircraft carriers, probably of 18,000 tons. The cost of naval construction this year will be more than $250,000,000 in addition to large increases in naval personnel and extensions of dockyards and storage for ammunition, fuel and other reserves.

For the Army: Two new army tank battalions will be formed and two of four projected new infantry battalions will be raised immediately. Immense reserves of ammunition will continue to be accumulated. The Territorial Army, corresponding to the American National Guard, will be trained with the same weapons as the regular army and will be responsible for anti-aircraft defense throughout the United Kingdom. The mechanization of the army from top to bottom will be rushed at the utmost speed.

For the Air Force: More than 75 new training stations and airdromes for military purposes will be built in the United Kingdom and the Empire. The personnel of the air force, which was increased to 50,000 in 1936, will be increased still further, while the production of thousands of new planes will be pushed at top speed. In addition to first-line planes, reserves are being obtained for an adequate active service. This probably amounts to an expansion order of not less than 10,000 machines, including more than 1,200 more first-line planes.

Judging this program and the present state of British sea, land, and air forces *vis-à-vis* the other European big powers, it is seen that Great Britain is still supreme on the seas, and, with a total of 21 capital ships by 1942, will continue to be so for years to come. She is also leading the armament race in the air and is the strongest aviation power in Western Europe, if not on the Continent. Her army remains her weakest point, but it is pledged to assist France in case of a European war.

Arms have restored English prestige and there is no doubt that British rearmament plans are the out-standing peace factor on the Continent today. What a peace machinery at conference tables could not accomplish—a war machinery did.

Rearmament serves Britain a twofold purpose: she can now show her might and in so doing prevent attack; and if she has to fight she will be ready for it. Its repercussions have been felt in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo. While the White Paper did not mention any possible enemy, it contained a statement that no foreign dictator or military chief could have overlooked, that "at present there is no justification for any reduction or slowing down of the program."

Indeed, this England represents an extraordinary spectacle: a nation displaying force without militarism. A population of which 11,000,000 peace voters of a few years ago now stand almost unanimously behind guns as a guarantee for peace. A country whose taxpayers gladly give one-fourth of their income toward military expenditures. It is a phenomenon in a world armed to the teeth.

WHAT PRICE HIGHER WAGES?

Unless business recovery remains active, higher prices will negate income increases

By HERBERT M. BRATTER

IN VIEW of the strenuous opposition of businessmen and labor leaders to certain sections of the Black-Connery wages and hours bill, it was soon apparent that the original proposal would have to be modified. At this writing, however, it seems almost certain that, before adjourning, Congress will pass in its altered form a law establishing the principle that hours and wages in certain industries may be regulated. The law may set hour standards, but it cannot order industry to go below 40 hours a week, nor can it set maximum wages beyond 40 cents an hour. The principle of collective bargaining is given recognition.

If the law is to attain its main object of raising the income of workers at present "oppressed," even though the improved standards be cautiously applied, it is inevitable that industrial costs will tend to rise and that prices will tend to increase. These effects may be obscured, should the introduction of the higher labor standards coincide with an active phase of business recovery. Indeed, if demand for the products of industry is otherwise strong, no such harmful effects need be noticed.

If, on the other hand, industrial costs and prices are raised by labor-standards legislation while demand happens to be slackening, the effects will be more noticeable. Obviously any increase in the prices of things at retail will cut into the gains which this measure is designed to give to the workers. Economically, the effects of this law will depend to a considerable extent on the manner in which the proposed Labor Standards Board exercises its powers. Socially, the measure represents an irretraceable step. Directed toward reform rather than toward recovery, it is just one more phase of government regulation of business.

The original Black-Connery bill was very complicated. It filled 47 printed pages. Its main features were: (1) the establishment throughout the country of maximum weekly hours of labor in industry and minimum rates of pay; (2) the elimination of child labor; and (3) the prohibition of employment of strikebreakers or resort to labor espionage.

Under the recent revisions by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, however, many classes of employment are exempted from the provisions of the bill, including the higher-paid railroad men, agricultural workers, employees of local retailers, fishermen, and professional men and executives. The child labor provisions were modified to exclude agricultural work and employment by parents. A children's bureau of the Department of Labor was to grant further exemptions in cases where it found that the employment was not injurious to a child's health or school work. And the committee discarded the clause defining strikebreaking and the employment of labor spies as "oppressive labor practices."

The original bill set up a powerful Labor Standards Board which could vary the wage and hour standards according to regions and industries. As reported back to the Senate, the bill now carefully limits the functions of the Board. Instead of the wide authority which the bill's authors had intended to give the Board, it is now confined within the area of the 40-hour week and 40-cents-an-hour-wage. It cannot set minimum

wages and maximum hours above these points. And it is forbidden to establish minimum wages in industries where such a minimum might have the effect of curtailing jobs. In setting wage limits below this level. and in fixing weekly hours, the Board is to respect such standards as may be achieved through collective bargaining between employers and employees.

This official body would seek to accomplish the bill's stated objects chiefly by closing the channels of interstate commerce to all goods produced under conditions inferior to those which the board prescribes. Even goods produced for intrastate sale alone will be restricted if they are deemed competitive with goods in interstate commerce.

In some respects, therefore, the Black-Connery measure gives the Federal Government regulatory powers much greater than it has ever before held. This grant of powers is justified as "imperative" on the grounds that, as matters stand, individual States, however desirous of establishing fair working conditions, are unable to deal with the problem of competitive goods brought in from other States which allow sweat-shop conditions or "un-American" living standards.

The motives of the bill's chief supporters are varied. Essentially, their aims, apart from political considerations, are not so much economic as social. "A better average standard of living" is today a politically wise doctrine.

There is also the viewpoint of those who feel that limiting hours of work will, by "sharing the work," relieve unemployment. Others, mostly workers, see in the "hours" provisions a means rather of increasing payroll expenditures for "overtime," or in other words a fatter pay envelope for those now employed. Most child labor features of the bill are almost unopposed.

If the reactions of the bill's supporters

United Feature Syndicate

YOU CAN'T KEEP HER DOWN

are varied, so too are those of its critics. Most business men strongly object to another Federal body armed with broad powers to affect operating costs, examine businessmen's records, subpoena witnesses, etc. Generally they fear "more government in business," even though in numerous cases they honestly welcome and desire a law which would curb their unfair, chiseling, sweat-shop competitors. In organized labor's ranks, as well, important leaders have strenuously objected to an all-powerful board, although for different reasons than those of industrialists. Such a board, labor spokesmen feared, unless restricted at the outset, would be able to supersede collective bargaining. Moreover, there is apprehension that establishment of minimum wages may result in a general lowering of all wages, the standard minimum wage coming to be interpreted as a fair wage.

It is apparent that the Black-Connery bill, in keeping with the recommendations of a Presidential committee and in harmony with the Democratic platform of

Christian Science Monitor

DISHING UP MORE THAN HE CAN CHEW?

1936, is an attempt to revive the labor features of the N. I. R. A. The latter was invalidated because it represented Federal encroachment on states rights. During the two years since the Schechter case decision, however, the Supreme Court—notably in the Labor Relations Act case—has been construing more liberally the interstate commerce powers of the Federal Government. The Government is confident that the bill is unquestionably constitutional.

The NRA was both a recovery and a reform measure; it embodied both labor and trade-practice provisions. Its administration was very cumbersome and complicated, permitting representation in its operation by business and organized labor, as well as the government.

Under the present bill, however, all power would rest in the official board. There will be no "code authorities." Labor and management, it is true, may present evidence; but decisions will be reached by the government alone. Thus the element of self-government of industry inherent in the NRA is not revived. Under this bill—which unlike NRA deals only with labor—collective bargaining between management and workers may still take place, as it may now.

Detail a Handicap

A point of particular weakness in the suggested Labor Standards Board is the complex maze of administrative detail which it must face in establishing fair conditions in different regions and industries. The board is likely to be criticized for favoring one region or industry against another, and might be accused of using its powers for political ends. Even if its motives be simon-pure, its exercise of arbitrary powers might in individual cases prove disastrous, some businessmen feel.

If the alarms of the bill's more bitter critics prove unfounded and if the law in fact bears chiefly on the "chiseling fringe of industry" it will have socially desirable effects, even though at some economic cost. Elimination of child labor, whatever its cost, will certainly not be criticized. An increase in payrolls of the lower ranks of labor, if not too sudden, will prove beneficial. It is of course highly desirable from the national viewpoint not to increase costs beyond the capacity of business to support such increases.

Higher costs are most apt to be reflected promptly in higher prices, since neither the individual worker's efficiency nor technological improvement is likely to counterbalance a material increase in wages or shortening of hours in the "fringe" enterprises referred to. At present conditions of work vary widely from industry to industry, and the problem of a fair standard of labor is not susceptible of simple treatment.

The fact that the country is still in a recovery cycle is regarded by the measure's supporters as propitious for its introduction at this time. "Now is the time to con-

solidate those substantial gains so dearly won since 1932" and to obtain for labor a larger share of the product of its toil, the proponents say. One may take with a grain of salt the additional argument that higher payrolls through this law will increase man's purchasing power. All depends on whether or not the total output of industry is increased or decreased by labor legislation.

There is a definite limit to how much labor's share may be increased at the expense of capital's share, agriculture's share, etc. If prices rise, labor will tend to lose its gains. Moreover, higher prices tend to limit and reduce sales. If there is only "so much" to divide up, then the gains of the industrial workers are but the losses of the farmers, pensioners, capitalists, and all those not specifically included as beneficiaries of the bill. While it may be true that the country has been giving years of consideration to fair labor standards and that the problem has been long postponed, the fact that we are now experiencing a measure of recovery lessens the urgency of pell-mell legislation.

Twelve Million Affected

The Black-Connery bill, it was recently estimated, would affect perhaps 12,000,000 workers. Under the broadened interpretation of the interstate-commerce clause, the bill would directly embrace manufacturing, transportation, mining, and public utilities workers. Many large industries in these four groups would be exempted, however, because they are already conforming to the suggested standards. Also exempted from the bill would be agriculture, distribution, service occupations like laundries and filling stations, government employees, self-employed proprietors, and the like. Whether small plants, including small sweatshops, escape the bill's web depends not only on the limits set by Congress but also on the administrative problems involved. Another ticklish question has been that of imported goods and American labor standards.

NRA Experience

The wage standards now proposed are similar to those of NRA. Although the procedure is to be different, the results are likely to be similar, excepting where precautions are taken. Concerning NRA, the President's special Committee on Industrial Analysis found that shortening of hours resulted in some reemployment; that the wage increase produced was "at least partly neutralized by increasing prices"; that NRA sought to cover too much ground too rapidly. "The apparently simple concept of fixing maximum hours, minimum wages and minimum price provisions developed wholly unexpected degrees of complexity."

Shortening hours, in normal times, this Committee concluded, may act to limit production instead of merely to spread work, and so may do real harm. ". . . A minimum wage can be socially beneficial . . . But in this field code experience developed the need of well considered standards . . . [especially] if minimum rates were high enough to affect a large percentage of the workers . . ."

The Committee recommended that controls of the NRA type, if tried again, be limited to a few important industries, "in order that proper standards of investigation and adequate supervision may be maintained. . . ." The Black-Connery bill is not so limited, and it is to be hoped that Congress will avoid the chief pitfalls pointed to by past experience.

Yugoslavia's Design for Democracy

Liberalism, the triune kingdom finds, is an effective brake against fascism

By HENRY C. WOLFE

WHEN King Alexander I was assassinated in the streets of Marseilles on October 9, 1934, Yugoslavia became danger zone No. 1 of an uneasy continent. The strong hand and unifying force which had guided the course of the triune kingdom for thirteen years were suddenly stricken from the helm. Surrounded by enemy states, weakened by internal dissension, the nation of the South Slavs faced a crisis.

To friends and foes alike, Yugoslavia was a powder barrel filled to the brim. Mussolini's ambition to control the eastern shore of the Adriatic entailed a dismembered Yugoslavia. Hungary and Bulgaria, under Italian influence, nursed grievances against the Serbs and plotted to regain their Irredentist areas within the borders of the dead monarch's realm. Primitive Albania, strategically valuable ally of Italy, presented still another hostile frontier on the borders of the slain Alexander's kingdom.

Belgrade was thrown into confusion by the King's death. Would Mussolini profit by this to encourage a revolution in Croatia? Would the Government, under the Jevtitch-Zivkovitch faction, take advantage of the confusion to try to win over public opinion by attempting a foreign adventure, probably against Hungary?

These were but two potential dangers to vex an already harassed nation. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, founded on December 1st, 1918, was not united. There was friction between the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats and Slovenes on the other. Furthermore, the former Kingdom of Montenegro, incorporated in the new state, had been a focal point of agitation directed from Italy. Serious differences between the various tribes of the South Slav family were deeply ingrained as the result of centuries of separation. Orthodox Belgrade had long been influenced by the civilization of Constantinople, whereas Catholic Zagreb and Ljubljana had felt cultural kinship with Vienna, Budapest, and Rome. In Croatia and Slovenia, Austrian and Hungarian culture had effected a higher degree of social and economic progress than was possible in Serbia during the five centuries of Turkish oppression.

Although the Croatian and Slovenian languages are closely related to the Serbian, the Croats and Slovenes use the Latin alphabet and the Serbs use the Cyrillic. It had been King Alexander's goal to unify the various tribes of the South Slavs into one homogeneous nation. He was not discouraged by the misunderstandings and quarrels within the kingdom, and, like all Serbs, he bitterly resented outside interference with the peace of his state.

This interference took many forms. While Italian and Hungarian revisionists secretly encouraged terrorist organizations on Yugoslav soil, Bulgaria allowed Macedonians to make forays into Serbia and then take refuge within the Bulgarian border. In Albania King Zog's fortunes prospered on Balkan intrigue against Yugoslavia. He permitted Italian engineers to build military roads leading from the Adriatic to the Yugoslav border.

Premier Jevtitch and General Zivkovitch —the latter known as the "Yugoslav Rivera"—though enemies of Mussolini and Italy, were fascists. Theirs was a philosophy of force, reaction, and dictatorship. When they spoke of solving the Croat problem, they meant destruction of the Croat spirit and imprisonment of any Croat leader bold enough to differ with Jevtitch-Zivkovitch autocracy. Against their Serbian fellow countrymen they were hardly less arbitrary. Their rule meant trouble for Yugoslavia internally and strained relations with the kingdom's neighbors.

Fortunately for the harassed monarchy, the Jevtitch régime soon overplayed its hand. In the elections of May 1935, the dictatorship staged such an outbreak of terrorism that public opinion turned definitely against the Government. A few weeks later the Prince Regent Paul called upon Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch to form a ministry. The fascist politicians were repudiated by this step. For Dr. Stoyadinovitch is a democrat by principle, the first truly democratic leader to occupy the premiership. He is an economist first, a politician second. He lost no time in expressing his intention to abandon the dictatorship and return to constitutional government.

It took all the new Premier's statesmanship to turn some of his Serbian countrymen from the fascist methods of Jevtitch and Zivkovitch to the democratic ways of the Stoyadinovitch group. Repudiating Jevtitch's anti-Croat policies, he tried to bring into the new Government not only the Croats and Slovenes but also the Bosnian Moslems and the various ethnic minorities. He expressed a desire to make all the peoples of the kingdom feel that they were partners in a national enterprise, not merely outsiders watching the Serbs rule the nation.

The Prime Minister realized, however, that there could be no internal peace in the kingdom until Yugoslavia's strength was recognized abroad. As long as Mussolini could use dissident Croats and Macedonians as his terrorist agents in Yugoslavia and as long as Hungary could maintain so-called "murder farms" for the training of assassins, there would be strife within the South Slav realm.

First Power, Then Respect

With this objective Dr. Stoyadinovitch set out to make his country so powerful as to compel the respect of its neighbors. His policy was expressed in his statement: "If the necessity arises, we shall not defend our territory by spilling ink!"

Not only did Premier Stoyadinovitch set out to impress Italy and Hungary with the futility of attacking Yugoslavia, but he also carried forward King Alexander's work of striving for an understanding with Bulgaria. Fortunately for the Prime Minister's purpose, the Italo-Ethiopian affair removed some of the external pressure against Yugoslavia. The Duce was forced to concentrate his strength against possible war with Britain. In spite of their large and profitable Italian trade, the Yugoslavs supported League sanctions and sacrificed their commerce with Italy. This meant considerable economic loss for the South Slavs. Belgrade showed her willingness to participate in collective action by joining London in a mutual-assistance Mediterranean pact. Had war come with Italy, this treaty might have compelled Yugoslavia to bear the brunt of the first Italian attack.

The League's failure to stop Mussolini's African program and the unwillingness of France to risk offending the Duce beyond a certain point created a bad impression in Yugoslavia. It lessened Belgrade's faith in Geneva and the Western powers. The Yugoslavs believed that they had made a greater sacrifice than any other nation to prevent the destruction of Ethiopia. This reaction caused the Yugoslavs to think more than ever in terms of national self-reliance.

The first major triumph in foreign policy

DEMOCRAT BY PRINCIPLE: Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, Premier of Yugoslavia, is an economist first, a politician second, and the first truly democratic leader to occupy his position.

for the Stoyadinovitch Ministry came last January when Premier George Kiosseivanoff of Bulgaria came to Belgrade and signed a pact of "inviolable" friendship with Yugoslavia. In spite of the fact that there was an Italian princess on the Bulgarian throne, Sofia was turning from Italy to Yugoslavia. Thus was closed a breach between Serbs and Bulgars that had remained open since the Second Balkan War in 1913. The Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier, long a bloody border, now became at last a friendly meeting place of two neighbors.

Responding to pressure from Germany, Hungary made overtures to Yugoslavia. The strategy behind this move was Berlin's desire to break up the Little Entente and isolate Czechoslovakia. If the Nazis could arrange a bilateral non-aggression pact between the Hungarians and Yugoslavs, the political status quo in the Danubian area would be destroyed. Budapest could then effectively support Berlin's offensive against Prague. Although Premier Stoyadinovitch has been willing to replace the former strained relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary with a *detente*, his loyalty to the Little Entente has led him to refuse any pact with the Magyars that would scrap Belgrade's treaties with Bucharest and Prague.

The Hungarians have suspended their propaganda drive against the South Slavs. They have quietly closed the "murder farms" where Ustashi agents were trained for terrorist acts in Yugoslavia. Belgrade has watched with satisfaction this change in the policies of her old enemy. But the Serbs are under no illusions that the Magyars have experienced a change of heart. Budapest's policies are influenced by the strategy of *Realpolitik*, directed by the ambitious fascist political technicians in Berlin and Rome.

"Cordial Friendship"

Europe was startled late last year by Mussolini's sensational Milan speech in which he championed Hungary's revisionist ambitions and made overtures to Yugoslavia. Did this mean that Belgrade had turned her back on Prague and Bucharest? When the belligerent Duce spoke of "cordial friendship" between Italians and South Slavs, what were his motives? There were predictions that the Little Entente was falling to pieces. Nazi editorials hinted that Belgrade, too, was turning on the Berlin-Rome axis.

Actually Mussolini's *volte face* was caused by his own weakness. Heavily involved in Ethiopia and Spain, and faced with a rearming Britain in the Mediterranean, the Duce was compelled to make the best possible deal with the Yugoslavs in order to protect his back. It must have been a humiliating experience for the flam-

boyant Italian dictator to abandon the long campaign which he and his predecessors have waged to make the eastern shore of the Adriatic part of a new Roman empire. But Mussolini had steered his ship of state into such a vulnerable position that no course was left him except to turn around and go back. That is what he did in his Milan speech.

Dr. Stoyadinovitch and his ministers watched this Italian move with cynical interest. It offered them the opportunity to strengthen their international position enormously and particularly the safety of their Adriatic coast. It gave them a chance to curtail the profiteering activities of King Zog and his Albanian henchmen. Belgrade took a realistic view of the situation. The traditional enmity of Latin and South Slav was not ended, nor had the Duce given up his ambitions to extend his rule into the Balkans. The words "cordial friendship" were verbiage to hide the plight of Italian foreign relations.

Four months ago Yugoslavia and Italy signed a five-year pact guaranteeing the status quo along the Adriatic and granting concessions to the Yugoslav minority in Italy. This treaty was supplemented by an Italo-Yugoslav exchange of letters guaranteeing the independence of Albania. What this really meant, however, was that Italy would cease her anti-Yugoslav machinations in Albania, would stop stirring up Albanian tribes against the Serbs, and would quit building military roads leading from seaport military bases to the Yugoslav frontier. It was a major diplomatic victory for Yugoslavia.

Acting as his own foreign minister Dr. Stoyadinovitch was careful to emphasize to the press, however, that the Italo-Yugoslav accord affected neither Yugoslavia's alliances and other international obligations, nor her position in the League of Nations.

Commercially, the pact has already facilitated Yugoslavia's export trade to Italy. Politically, the treaty has put an end to the eighteen-year-old Italian anti-Serb agitation in Slovenia and Croatia. As long as the Duce lives up to the spirit of the pact there is little danger of an explosion on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier, which has been since the war one of the most menacing peace threats in Europe.

As was to be expected, the conclusion of this accord provoked the charge that Yugoslavia had joined the Fascist coalition, that Belgrade had torpedoed the Little Entente. Yugoslav denials of these accusations might be discounted, but the prompt statements of Foreign Minister Antonescu of Roumania and Foreign Minister Krafta of Czechoslovakia could not be lightly dismissed. The Roumanian and Czechoslovak spokesmen declared that their respective governments approved of Yugoslavia's arrangement with Italy. They denied that the pact affected the unity of the Little Entente or prevented their Yugoslav ally from carrying out her obligations to the Little Entente and to the League.

Territorial Status Quo

Dr. Stoyadinovitch is pursuing a line of foreign policy that will make his country as independent as possible. The lesson of the Ethiopian conquest was not lost on Belgrade. The course of history, from Kossovo to the assassination of Alexander I, has taught the Serbs that defense of their territory must depend entirely on their own powers. The whole Yugoslav nation remains suspicious of Italy. The Premier has bluntly remarked that the international scramble to win Yugoslav favor was to be attributed to the increasing strength of the South Slav army. He said recently that his foreign policies are neither pro-French, pro-German, nor pro-Italian, but pro-Yugoslav. He wants to preserve the territorial status quo of southeastern Europe. As the Yugoslavs have no territorial ambitions, it follows that their policies are defensive.

And as both Italy and Germany have expansionist foreign policies, it is obvious that their aims clash with those of Yugoslavia.

Inasmuch as no other country except Poland suffered such terrific losses in the World War as Serbia, Belgrade is determined to use its influence against policies that would cause the outbreak of a general European conflict. Such a war would almost certainly involve Yugoslavia. As the most powerful military nation in the Balkan area, Yugoslavia is able to put the brakes on the Fascist war chariot. Belgrade's refusal to leave the Little Entente and join the ranks of the Fascist International spoiled the plans of the Rosenbergs and Cianos who are promoting that alliance.

Yugoslavia is, of course, confronted by many pressing problems. In spite of the progress made in the past two years, the country is by no means out of the woods. There are still grave differences between the Croats and Serbs. The danger of return to a dictatorship of the Jevtitch type is not to be overlooked. The Jevtitches and Zivkovitches are in the background awaiting an opportunity to stage a *coup d'état* against the Stoyadinovitch Government.

If the Yugoslavs can continue the enlightened and progressive leadership of Dr. Stoyadinovitch and the men who surround him, there is ground for hope that further progress will be made toward the goal of Yugoslav unity and democracy. In a speech before the Yugoslav Parliament, Dr. Antun Korosec, Stoyadinovitch Minister of the Interior, made this significant statement: "After us may come a government still more liberal and still more democratic, if a disciplined people so desire it, but it can never come to fascism!"

BIRTH CONTROL'S BIG YEAR

The sanction of physicians and the courts has given the movement a new lease on life

By MABEL TRAVIS WOOD

ITS legal and medical victories won, the birth control movement in the United States emerges from a century of propaganda and conflict and enters a constructive period of planning and expansion. Since 1823, when Francis Place in England first championed the right of the working class to plan their families, probably no year has been more significant for the cause of voluntary parenthood than 1937. This year the pressure of public opinion and the influences at work for the last twenty-five years culminated in the favorable decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. and in the acceptance of birth control by the American Medical Association as a legitimate part of medical practice.

In January, 1937, it was announced that the court decision. handed down late in 1936, would not be appealed to the Supreme Court. Involving the importation of a package of contraceptives from Japan by a New York physician, this decision is the broadest of a series of recent federal court interpretations clarifying the legal rights of physicians in the matter of receiving or sending contraceptive supplies. The judges stated, in their opinion, that the Comstock Act of 1873 was not designed to prevent the importation, sale, or carriage by mail of things to be employed by physicians "for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well being of their patients."

Hailed by the press as a "turning point" and a "landmark" in the history of medicine, the recognition of birth control by the American Medical Association will do much to make reliable contraceptive information more speedily available to all the people. For years the Association had shelved resolutions on the question, because of the bitter opposition of groups within its own ranks. Its acceptance comes six years after the principal Protestant and Jewish church bodies had gone on record for scientific birth control. 12 years after its own Section on Obstetrics, Gynecology, and Abdominal Surgery recognized contraception as a medical problem. It comes when more than 300 birth control clinics are functioning in the United States under medical direction.

Though belated, the report adopted by the Association is constructive. thorough, and forward-looking. It outlines a program to further the progress of contraception in law, research. clinical service. and education in medical schools. That birth control is a positive program related to the whole field of human fertility is emphasized. The recommendation is made that medical students be instructed not only in contraceptive techniques, but in all factors pertaining to fertility and sterility.

For today "birth control" means much more than the limitation of births. It means the planning of families and the spacing of births so that the health of both mothers and children will be protected. The case for the voluntary spacing of pregnancies was greatly fortified by statistics published by the United States Children's Bureau in 1925 and showing that the death rate among both mothers and babies is much higher when the interval between births has been only one year.

It was from Holland and England that America's best known lay advocate of birth control, Margaret Sanger, secured inspiration and knowledge of clinical methods to forward her campaign. Mrs. Sanger's work as a nurse on the lower East Side of New York City so impressed her with the needless suffering and deaths among poor mothers who were denied contraceptive information that in 1912 she dedicated her career to the fight for birth control.

Although Mrs. Sanger's first clinic, opened in 1916 in a slum district of Brooklyn, was closed by the police in a few days, the publicity attending her subsequent arrest and month's imprisonment did much to focus popular opinion and to lead toward her establishment of a permanent clinic seven years later. This was the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau of New York City, oldest and largest birth control center in the United States, the work of which Mrs. Sanger now directs.

The American Birth Control League was organized in 1921. Mrs. Sanger was its president until 1928, when she resigned to concentrate upon a campaign in Washington to amend the federal laws. Now that court decisions have clarified the legal rights of physicians, an amendment is unnecessary, and the purpose of her National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control has been accomplished. In the meantime, the American Birth Control League has carried forward the work of organizing State leagues and clinics, of enlisting the support of the medical profession, and of extending medical school education in contraceptive techniques. Dr. Clarence Cook Little, biologist, is now League president.

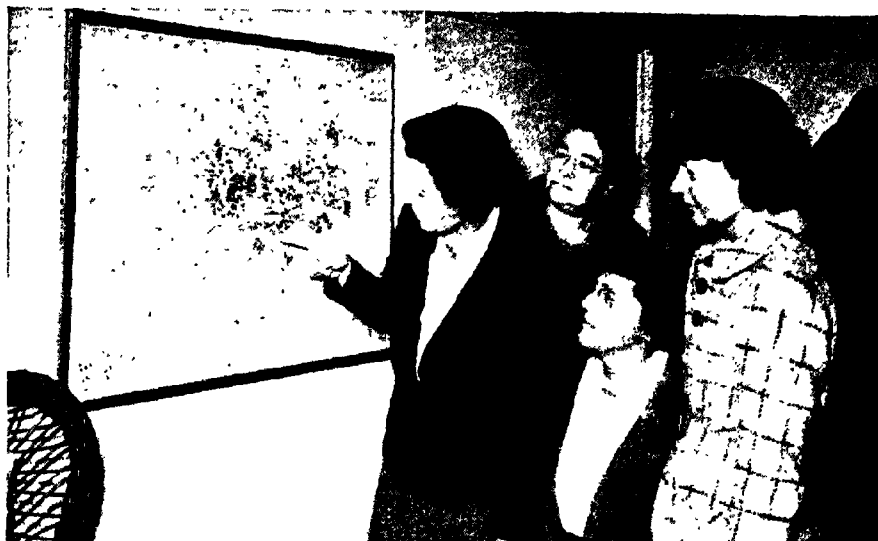
The work of many courageous physicians in this century has played an indispensable part in the growth and acceptance of the movement. Dr. William J. Robinson of New York began in 1904 a vigorous educational campaign in his booklet *Limitation of Offspring*, which antedated by ten years Mrs. Sanger's *Family Limitation*. In 1905 he issued to physicians a leaflet describing contraceptive techniques. Until his death last year, he continued active efforts to secure more enlightened public and medical opinion on what he called "prevenception."

Outstanding among the work of other medical pioneers was that of Dr. Robert Latou Dickinson, chairman of the executive committee of the National Committee on Maternal Health, and of the late Dr. J. Whitridge Williams, of Johns Hopkins Medical School. Two former presidents of the American Medical Association—the late Dr. Abraham Jacobi in 1912 and Dr. William Allen Pusey in 1924—have stated in their presidential addresses that contraception is the responsibility of the medical profession.

Growth of the Clinics

America's birth control clinics today are translating into practical action Francis Place's ideal of social justice, to extend to all classes the right to have their children under a system of conscious planning. In 41 States, 310 such medically directed centers are giving advice to mothers who are too poor to consult a physician privately. The greatest increase in such centers has come during the past two years, when their number has doubled. In January, 1935, there were 150 centers on record; in 1930, not more than 50.

The American Birth Control League had six state leagues in 1930; now there are organized member leagues guiding the extension of clinics in 24 states. All of these have representation on the national Board of Directors. The League and its state leagues have some 16,000 members.

The last few years have seen an increasing trend toward the establishment of birth control clinics as a part of tax-supported community health service. Fifty-three

MAPPING THE CAMPAIGN: Birth control officials of the Iowa Maternal Health League study the distribution of patients at the League's Des Moines clinic.

clinics in 21 states are supported wholly or partially by public funds. Nine clinics now have quarters in town and city halls: 20 are located in city and county health departments and 65 in hospitals. Other centers are in settlement houses, church parish halls, visiting nurse headquarters, physicians' offices, and private quarters.

Clergymen, university professors, clubwomen, lawyers, business men, and other leading citizens are among those sponsoring birth control programs. These lay committees raise money and obtain publicity for the clinics, give prestige to the work, and help to extend the number of clinics in their localities.

Medical policies of State leagues and clinics are set by advisory boards of local physicians. The medical advisory board of the American Birth Control League is the National Medical Council on Birth Control and has a membership of 74 physicians in 23 States.

Enlisting the cooperation of social workers is one of the most important activities of birth control organizations, for the social worker is the direct link between the clinic and the woman who needs contraceptive advice. Social agencies are becoming increasingly aware that birth control gets at the source of many conditions of poverty, ill health, and domestic discord, and that without it family case work will be merely palliative.

The American Birth Control League has been an associate group of the National Conference of Social Work since 1928, and ten state leagues now have membership in their state social work conferences. More than 2,300 social workers attended the sessions conducted by the League during the National Conference in Indianapolis this May.

Though birth control clinicians give advice for health reasons, increasing emphasis is being placed on the interrelationship between organic disease and economic and social factors. Forty-one per cent of new patients at birth control clinics in 1935 were on whole or partial relief, according to the reports of one hundred centers. Mothers on relief have been found eager

to avail themselves of birth control information. The fact that the birth rate among families on relief has been about fifty per cent higher than that among self-supporting families in the same social strata does not indicate that families have more children because they are dependent. Studies of the Milbank Memorial Fund point out that, on the contrary, families may be dependent because they have more children.

More than 70,000 new patients were received at birth control clinics in 1935, and the number in 1936 was doubtless larger because of the increase in clinics. Detailed case histories are taken. The age of patients averages 28 years, and the number of living children three. Before coming to the clinics, the majority of patients have tried one or more methods of birth control, which have proved unreliable. It is not uncommon for older patients to have had five or six abortions. One patient at a Chicago clinic last year said she had had 32 abortions.

Incidentally, one-quarter of America's high maternal death rate is due to abortion, Dr. Frederick J. Taussig points out in *Abortion-Spontaneous and Induced.* "Economic distress is at the root of the largest number of induced abortions," he states. "Of all the measures suggested for the control of abortion none equals in importance the widespread establishment of clinics for contraceptive advice and provision for the free distribution of contraceptive materials among the poor."

About half of the clinic patients pay nothing. Fees for those who can pay vary between a quarter and about three dollars. It has been found that when the woman pays something, no matter how little, she places more value on the service received. One dollar is the maximum fee at the twelve centers maintained in settlement houses of Manhattan and the Bronx by the New York City Committee of Mothers' Health Centers.

Staffs of clinics which have been functioning for several years are pointing with pride to "planned babies." Mothers who have been successfully using the method and know they need never again fear unwanted pregnancy will tell the nurse, "Now that my husband has a job again, and Junior is almost three, we've decided it's time to have another baby." During a mother's first visit the clinic nurse always explains that the object of birth control is not to stop her from having more babies but to help her to have healthy babies when she is ready for them.

In Great Britain, birth control has been a public health measure since 1930, when the Ministry of Health issued the first of a series of memoranda urging local Maternity and Child Welfare Authorities to set up contraceptive clinics. At the beginning of this year, 196 Authorities out of 423 in England and Wales had done so. An organization of laymen and physicians, the National Birth Control Association has been stimulating the local Authorities to start clinics, and also establishing clinics under private auspices. Lord Horder, one of Britain's most celebrated physicians, is president of the Association.

Britain's experience indicates that the movement in this country, in spite of its rapid gains, faces a task requiring considerable time, research, and leadership before safe birth control methods will become generally available. The present clinics in the United States reach only a small proportion of the urban women eligible for their service. Only recently has the movement begun to penetrate at all to rural and mountain districts, where maternal and infant death rates are particularly high and mothers are in acute need of relief from continuous child-bearing. Experiments have been started in several localities in simplified methods under medical direction that can be brought to the woman in her home. The idea of traveling clinics is being considered by several State birth control leagues.

One of the most important public services which the American Medical Association's program promises is the investigation of contraceptive products by its Bureau of Pharmacy and Chemistry. Flourishing without regulation, the new industry in contraceptives has reached alarming proportions. Many of the "feminine hygiene" products and devices that flood the market are worthless; some are distinctly dangerous.

The legal situation may require further clarification, as eight States have laws restricting the distribution of contraceptive supplies and information. However, in all these eight states except Mississippi birth control clinics are now functioning openly. The American Medical Association report assumes, and legal authorities have confirmed that the State courts, if called on to construe these statutes, will adopt lines of reasoning similar to those followed in cases decided by the federal courts and will declare physicians exempt from the restrictions of the State laws.

The only organized opposition remaining in the United States is that of the Roman Catholic Church, which holds that scientific contraception is contrary to natural and moral law.

The fact that high Catholic officials in 1933 began to advocate the "rhythm" or "safe period" method of birth control has modified the Church's position. The most convincing arguments for family limitation and child spacing appear in the "rhythm" pamphlets published with ecclesiastical approbation. Unfortunately, medical science has not yet been able to accept the "rhythm" method as reliable.

Even in Catholic-dominated Puerto Rico, 1937 has brought a notable and long-needed victory. Acting Governor Ramos, himself a Catholic, in signing on May first the bill legalizing birth control on the island, said, "I have not convinced myself that judicious use of contraceptives is in conflict with wholesome public morality in its broadest sense."

Birth control meets with scattered opposition from those who believe that it will cause a dangerous decline in the birth rate. On the other hand, leading population authorities remind us that population adjusts itself to economic opportunity and that birth control is only one of many factors contributing to a lower birth rate. Many predict that a stationary population, which the United States seems due to reach about 1960, will be salutary for the country.

A "Qualitative" Race

A statement issued by 16 sociologists and population authorities in December, 1935, answering Cardinal Hayes, pointed out, "There is, of course, the possibility that the present decline in the rate of population growth may threaten actual under-population. But the surest way to forestall this result is to establish the social practice of regulating reproduction intelligently and purposefully. Society should then be able to set up new incentives and conventions to reverse the trend."

Eugenicists, who are concerned with the quality rather than the quantity of population, see in widespread birth control one instrument for racial improvement. In the past, birth control knowledge has had a dysgenic effect, they state, because it has reached only the more intelligent and capable people, who have been having too few children, while some other elements of the population have increased too rapidly.

The place of birth control as a medical and public health movement has now been established and it will undoubtedly proceed along this line. At the same time, today's progress in scientific contraception opens a new era, toward which men and women have been groping through countless centuries—voluntary control over the creation of life, for greater human dignity and human happiness.

HOW REAL IS RECOVERY?

The economic world remains out of political balance despite numerous indices of recovery

By CHARLES HODGES

HOW far up—how long? These are the real questions of recovery today round the globe. For, even if all the indexes point in the same economic direction, the nations of the world offer no great assurance that politics will permit the consolidation of commercial, industrial, and financial gains.

When we talk about such things as recovery and international economics, we must remember that there are two worlds of men on this planet. One is the rural billion living on the land; the other is that of the industrial nations. For the land-bound humanity of the first world, there has been no such thing as international economic collapse—or recovery. These thousand million peasant farmers have gone through it all stolidly sweating their sustenance from the soil. Hundreds of millions in Asia outside of Japan, tens of millions in Africa far from the Rand gold mines, not to mention Latin-American peons, beyond the exotic circle of plantation production for export, would not know what depression means unless it took the ground literally from beneath their feet.

This is an experience in the main reserved exclusively for the wage-workers of Western Europe, the United States, and those eastward migrating factory towns such as Bombay, Shanghai, and Osaka. They are the bulking millions of town-dwellers who constitute the machine tenders of a mechanical age, and they, not the rural billion contributing a trickle of raw materials to their support, know this thing called prosperity—and its other side, depression.

These nations of the industrial west are urban islands. They float artificially upon a sea of crops. Their landless millions, jammed into the industrial centers of the North Atlantic basin, have lost all pretense of being self-sufficient unless they revert to a more primitive military basis. These countries, together with their agricultural satellites revolving around them, are slaves of supply and demand in terms of the market place. Food—food for men and machines—is drawn into the European vortex of the whirlpool-like sweep of trade round the globe. Interruption of this flow, which gives industrial life its balanced economic diet, becomes commercial strangulation.

In sharp contrast to the leisurely rural billion only incidentally bound up with the industrial world, the agricultural satellites of the dominant town-dwelling peoples find themselves sucked into the sweep of modern business. Outposts of progress in conventional capitalistic terms, they have been "developed" through an elaborate loan structure into the poor relations of the industrial nations. The upshot of the technique of high-powered money centers has been to transform such lands too rapidly into systematic over-producers of raw materials and foodstuffs in a world where price—not human needs—dictates. These agricultural millions are subject to all the play of forces within the machine world. When depression parches the flow of international trade, their bit of prosperity

evaporates. Their indebtedness overseas, however, remains menacingly substantial to the economic end.

Here we have the "one-commodity" lands. Prosperity outside of their control, existence even is bound up with "export" crops and products destined for the industrial powers. The systematic over-producers for world markets begin in the wheat belt; dominate the outlook for the "breakfast-table countries" with their tea, coffee, and sugar; and ceaselessly develop strategic raw-material sources from Finnish timber to Malayan tin. There is that other Europe, the still predominantly agrarian Europe eastward which feeds the western industrialisms. Our Latin-American neighbors have put from 50 to 70 per cent and over of their exports into a single product. This same forced growth, so phenomenal since 1913 when mapped, leads to a repetition of the story in Africa. The post-War industrial hunger for materials has boomed the Sudan into a new "South" with 39 per cent of its total exports cotton at the close of the 1920s; the Belgian Congo mushroomed into a Lake Superior copper rival whose ore exports rose to 37 per cent of its whole trade. Eastward, Ceylon's tea, planted with fertile British pounds, has made the leaf account for 49 per cent of the island's exports.

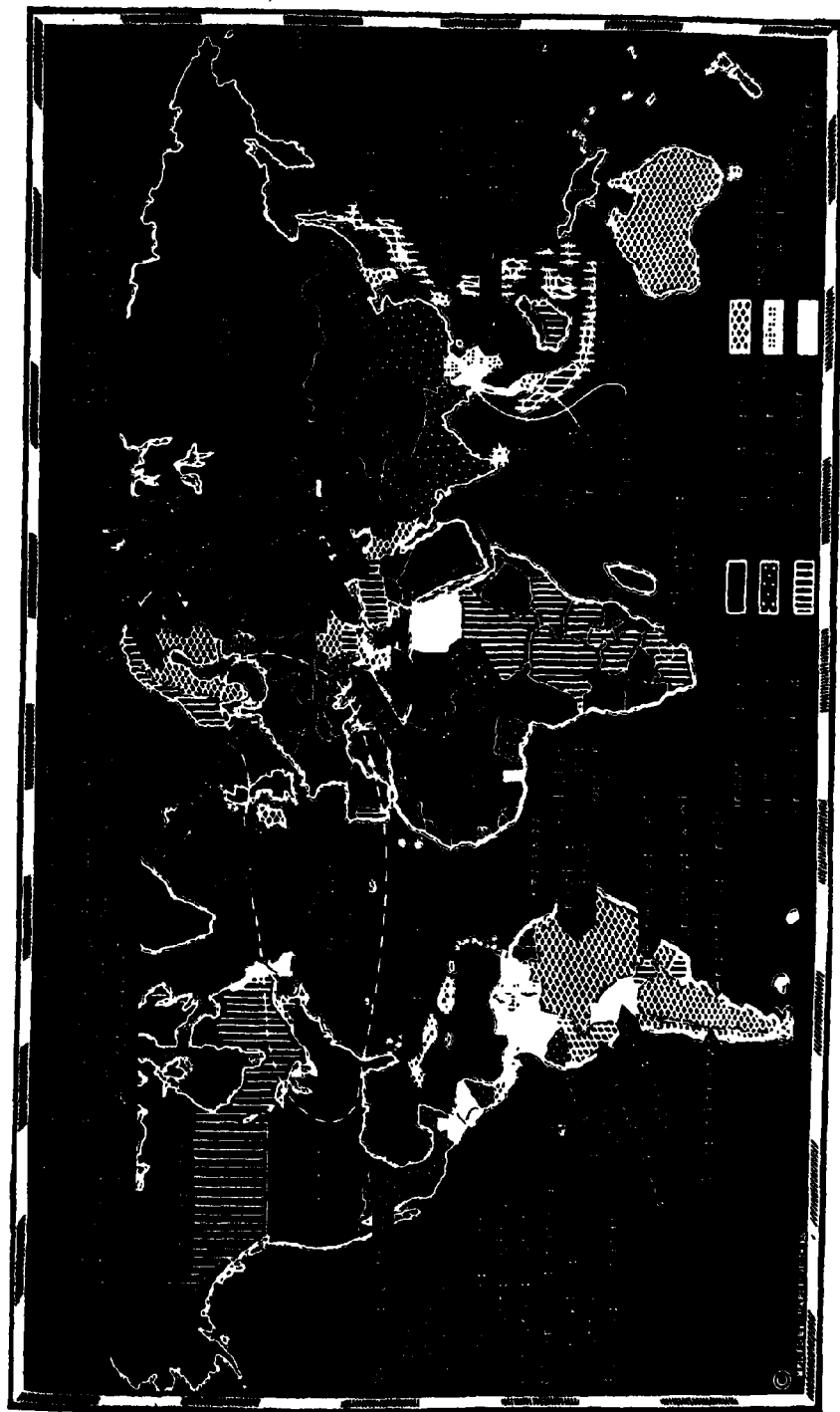
One does not have to be an economist to figure out what happened when the "world" markets, from New York to London and Kobe to Hamburg, literally dried up under the scorching spread of depression. When the financial leadership of the business powers began to crack up in 1929, the Wall Street rift did not stop with money markets or in industry; far-flung commodity collapses, accentuated by over-expansion going back to wartime fear of goods starvation, shook the single-product lands. Dependent upon trade that ceased to exist, these countries became for practical purposes bankrupt. Lands of too much of one thing could not give away their products—Brazil is still burning coffee. National revenues, frequently more than half derived from import and export duties in one-commodity lands, simply vanished. Deficits bred revolution at home; debt payments ceased abroad; public and private credit alike became impaired disastrously.

In this way, the one-commodity lands, assets of prime importance in good times, become under economic collapse the nemesis of the business world.

What Now?

This sketch of what happened to one part of a world that lost 22 million dollars each working day in the diminishing international exchange of goods during the bad years of the 1930s, tells us something of crucial importance. Though we talk about recovery, world trade lags. So long as international commerce remains far below other upward trends, the essential re-establishment of interdependent business activities has not taken place between nations. Even if Britain, achieving a level of production 16 per cent above the peak of 1929 this past year, has been able to say that for the first time since the Great War it has economically topped the pre-War years, blighted world trade discounts the statistical optimism. Half a decade of sinking commerce values carried indexes of trade from 1929, represented as 100, down to 31 in the bottom-bumping year of 1935; it climbed uncertainly to a 1936 average of 37; now, winning back the ground of a year-end reaction, world trade has pushed up into the 40s. While nations have been able to patch up their national economic systems or revamp them on a dictatorial pattern, the channels of trade are still perilously jammed. This explains why the upturn is marked by ominous unevenness.

Business . . . Present Arms!

Ironically enough, the world's armaments race has helped to delude us. Thus,

Great Britain's arms program has been extensive enough to lift the whole economic level once again. So, for Hitler's Germany. So, too, for Mussolini's Italy. So, too, for the military and naval program of the United States—not to mention Japan's arms expansion in the midst of looming financial difficulties.

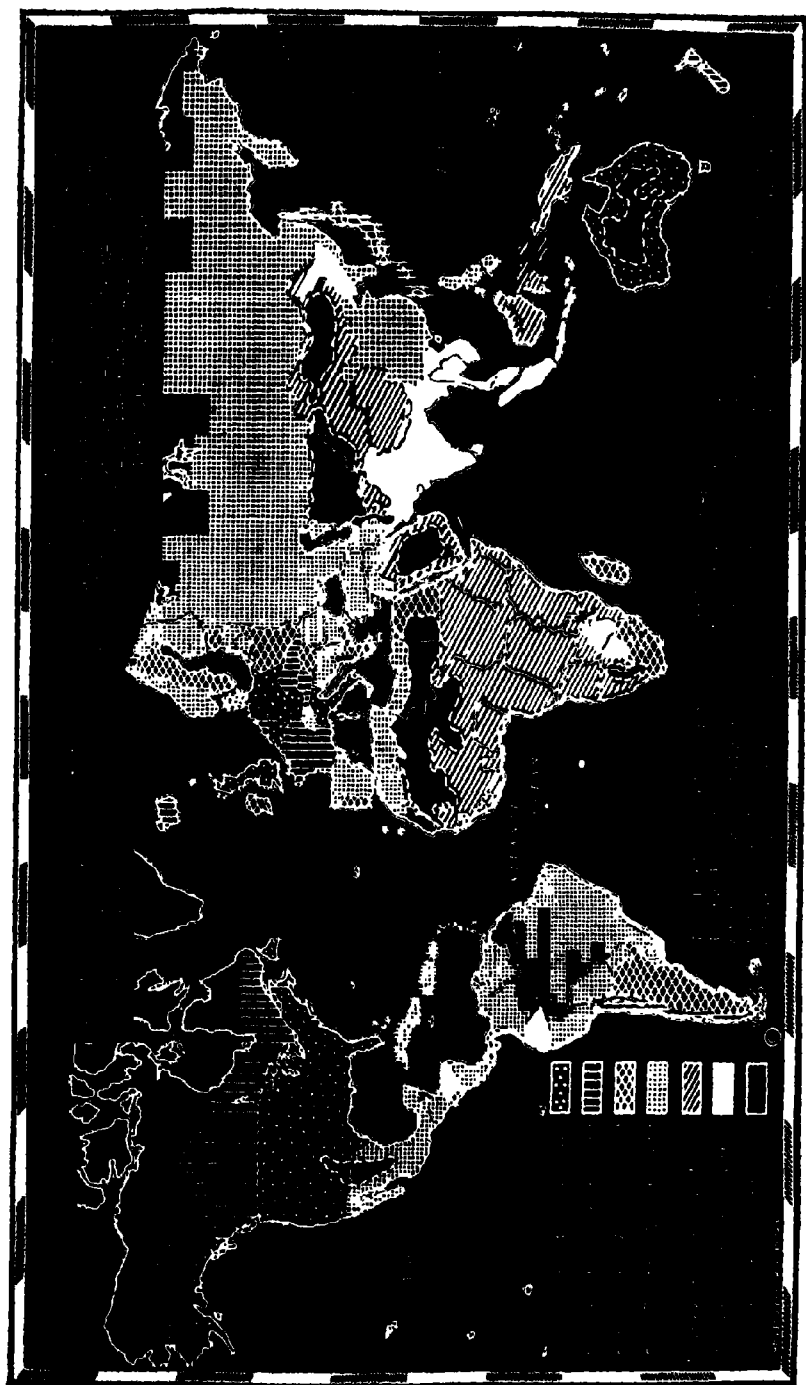
What this means can best be said by the German Institute for Business Research when it estimates that armaments "benefit a good 60 per cent of industry in the different countries. . . ." Of course, beyond the immediate stimulus of the war industries, there lurks economic reaction. What we actually have is an arms jag. It is the outstanding sinister development today in the economic world. It is diverting industrial activity into non-productive channels. It is jumping commodity prices in speculative waves bringing the suckers back to the "Big Board" to gamble against Mars. It is taking credits from business not within the magic circle of war industries. It is shooting up the tax burden in overloaded fiscal systems.

Take the economic corollary of militarism: economic nationalism. This force has stimulated industrial research to a degree where laboratory substitutes will have to be reckoned with in the commercial market. These new basic materials are gaining sufficient importance to compete with the "old" sources of supply. Therefore, world recovery once again involves the double strain of not only readjusting trade relations between competing "old" and "new" countries; there is a similar battle going on in the sphere of "old" and "new" basic materials.

Under the double goad of depression and ascendant militarism, the public finances of the Great Powers all have one thing in common—the growing dishonesty of their national balance sheets. If we have recovery, it is being achieved without the pretense of balanced budgets. Most nations, including the United States, are accepting the idea that we cannot "recover" by living within our income. Deficit "financeering" now threatens to be with us so long as the arms race continues.

Obviously the capital problem of monetary stabilization eludes solution. The spasmodic movements of gold are testimony to the precarious state of recovery in terms of public finance. These funds on the loose represent preponderately capital running away from danger abroad. They point to the failure of business nations to demobilize monetary defenses—behind that, to the inability of countries to restore the prime requisite of a price equilibrium even though foreign exchange has tended to narrow its swings. Under these enumerated circumstances, it is hardly prudent to call attention to the reduction of short-term indebtedness while ignoring the vast mountain of long-term debts whose potentialities as scraps of paper grow with every arms increase.

Let me repeat: The testimony of every index points to one fact—but the economic world remains out of political balance. The course of the depression, arrested and even turned up again toward prosperity, shows that the equilibrium between industries, between monetary systems, between nations themselves remains to be restored in the only way possible under our prevalent capitalistic industrialism. International co-operation, however, seems bizarre in our political world where nations call naval conferences and break them up, protest their passion for peace but convoy "volunteers" to urge a "little world war" in a hapless neighbor's territory, claim that they cannot meet their debts but lay down new warcraft, prepare neutrality bills but revise military estimates upward.

Such a world may not be doomed. However, it has prepared itself, if not intelligently at least thoroughly for the worst.

CARIBBEAN LABORATORY, U. S. A.

Virgin Islanders are U. S. citizens, use U. S. stamps, and have a New Deal

By ROBERT W. DESMOND

FOR more than twenty years the United States flag has been flying over the Virgin Islands. Yet Americans are only beginning to discover where the islands are, and what they are. Many do not realize that United States postage stamps are used on mail in the Hawaiian Islands, and it will surprise the same persons to know that Virgin Islanders are as much American citizens as the residents of Massachusetts. Omnipotent Congress made them so.

The islands, considered as a unit, are one of Uncle Sam's war babies. He bought them at a very fancy price in 1917 for fear that Germany might get them instead and use them as a base for attacks on the United States coast, on the Panama Canal, or upon ships. This is a clue to their location. They are about 1400 miles southeast of New York, four and one-half days by steamer and about 18 hours by commercial airline, mere flyspecks on the map of the West Indies just at the corner where that crescent of island stepping-stones turns south toward the equator. The Atlantic Ocean is east of them, the Carribbean Sea, west.

There are about fifty islands in the group, but only three are of any size or importance. The most generally known is St. Thomas. Nearby is St. John, smaller, little populated, but beautiful. St. Croix, 40 miles south, the largest of the islands, is flatter and best suited to agriculture. All of the islands lie within a radius of 50 miles, but they comprise only 133 square miles, less than one-ninth the size of Rhode Island, and have about 20,000 population, which has been a declining figure for a century, and more than 90 per cent of which is black or mixed, descendants of slaves brought to the islands from Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The islands were named by Christopher Columbus, who saw so many small islets on the horizon when he made his second voyage to the western hemisphere in 1493, that he despaired of finding a saint's name for each of them. So he named them after St. Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins.

Whether there are any virgins in the Virgin Islands now, despite their name, is a vulgar question uttered by persons of humorous intent. It is a question, however, not wholly without point. Due to emigration, women outnumber men there by as much as 12 per cent in some sections. More than 50 per cent of the births in the islands are illegitimate.

It is a fact that many native women prefer not to be married. They believe they have a greater hold over their men that way, since if the man is not good to them they may leave and find another who will be, without complications. The only sad fate is to be "neglected," as they put it. This system is a survival of slave days, when there was no object in marriage or family life among the blacks, since husband, wife, and children might be, and often were, shipped off for sale in widely separated places, never to hear of one another again. Although illegitimacy is regarded by some as regrettable, it is no disgrace, and the schools of the Virgin Islands

keep the records of the children with separate columns for the names of mothers, fathers, or guardians.

A more serious matter than illegitimacy itself is the lack of family life. That situation also derives from slave days, and has been emphasized in recent years by the lack of employment. Many of the best workers and the most ambitious emigrate to the United States, leaving the children behind with relatives or with elderly persons who may be no kin at all. This has resulted in truancy and misbehavior among some of the children, although serious crime is exceedingly rare in the islands.

Economic Liabilities

It is true that the islands' economy has been badly in need of improvement for many years. Denmark, which owned them for three hundred years, found that they were an administrative headache, and it was not reluctant to transfer the burden to the United States in 1917 for $25,000,000—five times the price offered in 1865. From 1917 until 1931 the islands were under the administration of the Navy Department, and during those fourteen years the United States taxpayers contributed $6,500,000 to their maintenance.

Strategically, the islands may have had value in 1865, or even in 1902. The harbor at St. Thomas is deep and good, but not big enough for a fleet of naval vessels of the size required today. But the American purchase of the Virgin Islands prevented Germany or any other nation raising the issue by gaining control of them.

There was a time when the Virgin Islands were rolling in wealth. It came from two sources—sugar-cane production and shipping. The islands were once a way-station in the slave trade between Africa and the Southern States. Labor was plentiful and cheap, the terrain and rainfall in St. Croix were suited to cane growing. When the price of sugar was high, therefore, British and Danish promoters developed large plantations in St. Croix and lived in luxury—for a while.

This was the golden age for St. Croix. The Bethlehem sugar estate, near the middle of the island, sold in 1798 for $215,000. By 1870 its price was down to $70,000, and in 1903 it brought only $15,000. Sugar production had been widely undertaken in the world and the price fell sharply, while the end of slavery sent up labor costs. The combination squeezed out many estate owners, and their mills fell into ruins. When outsiders did come in to renew production, they stayed only so long as they were making money. While this was natural from their point of view, it threw the masses into unemployment and poverty. Even the rainfall seemed to conspire at times to make more miserable the plight of the islanders, for it failed to contribute enough moisture to bring good crops or to fill the cisterns upon which they were dependent for their water.

As for St. Thomas, ships did continue to come into the harbor to take on coal and provisions. Although private Danish companies and individuals owned much of the land, the shops, and the coaling dock, these did provide some employment for the masses of impecunious blacks. But the war years curtailed shipping, and after a very active revival during the nineteen-twenties, it fell off sharply again in the depression era. Then the installation of an automatic coaling crane threw the coal-women out of employment entirely, so that by 1931 desperation and starvation were beginning to stalk the streets of St. Thomas.

New Deal for the Islands

This was the general situation in 1931 when the United States began to do something definite about the Virgin Islands. Herbert D. Brown, Chief of the United

States Bureau of Efficiency, seems to have been the first to use the word "rehabilitate" in reference to this territory. He believed that the islands could be made self-supporting, pleasant, attractive, happy, and possibly even prosperous. He proposed a sort of "new deal" for these islands, under a civil administration, and his plan went into effect in March, 1931, when Paul M. Pearson, appointed by President Hoover, walked into the Governor's office at Government House, St. Thomas, and sat down. He remained in charge until 1935, when a political feud brought his resignation, without any discredit to him.

President Hoover himself, cruising in the West Indies, put into St. Thomas harbor a few weeks after Governor Pearson assumed office. He was not favorably impressed and remarked that the United States had acquired in the islands "an effective poorhouse." His remark startled the more intelligent natives into trying to do something to improve their own islands, and it gave the new civil officials a certain backing in their demands for cooperation from Washington.

Since such prosperity as the islands had enjoyed had come from agriculture and commerce, these were regarded as providing the keys for a rehabilitation program—together with a plan for social renovation, for the death rate was shockingly high, infant mortality was large, and most of the natives were living in wretched shacks, without proper sanitation or even ventilation. Undernourishment was common, and the islanders were poorly educated.

The Government, using Efficiency-Man Brown's plan, set out to restore sugar-cane production in St. Croix; to attract more shipping to St. Thomas; to attract tourists and winter visitors; to help natives acquire land and homes of their own and to teach them to cultivate their fields; to give them more and better education; and to encourage family life and community feeling.

For five years, now, this rehabilitation program has been under way. The worst that can be said about it is that it has been very slow in some of its divisions, and it has cost too much money. In the seven years from 1931 to 1938 the civil administration will have spent about $7,000,000, compared to the $6,500,000 expended in 14 years by the Navy Department. About $4,000,000 has been poured in during the last five years for emergency projects alone, plus about $260,000 this year (it used to be more) to cover the regular administrative costs and deficit appropriations to balance the St. Thomas-St. John and the St. Croix municipal budgets.

Rehabilitation Progresses

The best that can be said about the program going on in this Caribbean "laboratory for American colonial administration" is that it seems likely to make St. Croix self-supporting within about three years *if* the quota for the admission of St. Croix raw sugar into the United States can be raised from its present 5462 tons a year, set by the Costigan-Jones Act on the basis of one of the island's worst years of production, to at least 10,000 tons a year, and preferably 18,000 tons, which is the island's maximum potential production, but which yet would amount to very little in the enormous American sugar bowl. And, as to St. Thomas, it may become self-supporting within a decade, if tourists can be persuaded to come to the islands in greater numbers than at present.

After all, island officials declare, the Virgin Islands offer much of the charm that is found in the popular vacation spots of Bermuda and the Bahamas, which are under the British flag. While the Virgin Islands are farther from New York, they are potentially as attractive.

The civil administration has done a great deal for the Virgin Islands. It has established homesteads in St. Croix, and a few

in St. Thomas, and has had excellent success in placing industrious and capable families upon them. Some homesteaders also have had the Government build small houses for them on the same 20-years-to-pay and 3 per cent interest basis they follow in buying the land.

The Virgin Islands Company, with $2,520,030 of government money, has gone into St. Croix to help the natives rather than to exploit them, as so many private companies had done in the past. It purchased 5,000 acres of land, put 2,200 of them into cane production, has harvested its first sizeable crop this spring, is giving employment to many natives, is rebuilding ten villages for their occupancy in model cottages, has rebuilt two old sugar cane grinding mills, is providing a market at a fair price for the cane grown by homesteaders, squatters, and small growers, and is making a certain amount of rum from extra cane.

An agricultural experiment station in St. Croix, with a branch in St. Thomas, is teaching the natives to work the land to best advantage, not only in cane growing, but in growing vegetables, raising livestock, and other allied activities. A vocational school is teaching carpentry, masonry, plumbing, and other trades. The public schools are teaching all children the three R's and also are giving them invaluable training in gardening, food preparation, hygiene, sewing, dressmaking, laundering, woodworking, native crafts, and are instilling an appreciation of family life, a sense of community activity, and a desire for a higher standard of living. Low-cost houses, so-called, have been put up in several parts of the island.

A government-built hotel, new roads, and private undertakings are intended to please tourists and encourage them to come to the islands in greater numbers. More West Indies cruise ships are stopping at St. Thomas, to the delight of the shopkeepers, who garner from $500 to $5000 per ship in purchases made by the tourists; commercial vessels are calling in at the very satisfactory rate of about two a day for refueling and provisioning; and there is some indication that continental Americans are, in fact, discovering the islands as a place for vacationing or winter residence.

But, best of all, perhaps, in its immediate promise, is a government-sponsored cooperative, which has become self-supporting and independent since its establishment in 1931, and is selling all of the products that native men and women have been able to make. The cooperative now is paying natives about $200 a week for their work, plus a 3 per cent annual bonus on sales, and it can dispose of more than the natives so far have been able to make, even though instructors have been engaged to teach more of them to do the work.

A Brighter Future

The future looks much brighter for the Virgin Islands than anyone would have believed possible in 1931. But there is much remaining to be done. Natives continue to emigrate because they believe opportunities are greater elsewhere. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans are beginning to move into St. Thomas and St. Croix because they believe opportunities are greater there than in their own island. That disturbs some officials, and the natives in the Virgin Islands do not like the Puerto Ricans.

There is some pessimism about the possibility of having the sugar quota raised. There is pessimism, also, in some quarters over the outlook for St. Thomas. It is held to be too far from the United States to hold attractions for large numbers of visitors. But others are more hopeful on both subjects.

At present, several hundred Virgin Islanders remain on direct relief, and more look to emergency project work to provide them with a livelihood. Yet they make

very little that way. There was some delay in getting the government funds to carry on the emergency work which will support these islanders into 1938, and even so the amount is considerably smaller than that available last year. It is less than $500,000. That means a limited program.

If the accomplishments of the rehabilitation program are not themselves sensational enough to attract notice, the islanders seem to be winning increased attention because of their natural attractions. If that is so, and visitors begin to go there in any numbers, the Virgin Islands' future may be even brighter than its golden age of slavery days. Under the new arrangement, the benefits will be passed around more generally, and even the United States taxpayer, whether he ever sees the islands or not, will get his share of the pie in the form of relief from having to support a non-paying territory.

England vs. the Dominions

STORIES of an almost gloves-off row on the issue of British Foreign policy at the recent Imperial Conference have for some time now been going the rounds in informed circles. Last week the icy silence of the press both at home and abroad was broken by the appearance of an article in a solitary and usually well-informed French paper declaring that strong criticism at least was levelled by Dominion spokesmen against the present policy of the Foreign Office. But the silence was immediately resumed. . . .

Actually, *The Week* learns, the row of unprecedented character hinted at in the French press was led by the New Zealand Premier, Mr. Savage, and not, as then stated, by Mr. Jordan. . . .

In the first place, Mr. Savage declared, the conclusion of the Locarno Treaty was in itself an indication that Britain had little or no intention of pursuing a thorough-going League policy, for, in the situation prevailing at the time the Treaty was signed, the Treaty was merely a repetition of League obligations on a Western European scale - unnecessary if Britain intended to "make the League work." . . .

Britain delivered a second blow at the League, Mr. Savage believed, when it refused the offered co-operation of the United States during the Manchurian crisis and followed this up by trying to give the impression that America was not willing to co-operate. . . .

Coming to the Italo-Abyssinian crisis, Mr. Savage criticized the British Government for being the first to propose the lifting of sanctions, especially at a time when the Abyssinians were still fighting and when there were strong indications at least that the aggressor could be made to give up its prey. . . .

Mr. Savage then dealt with the Anglo-German naval treaty. How was it possible, he asked, to trust England, if—but a few hours after a unanimous vote on the League Council condemning re-armament in violation of concluded treaties - she could conclude a special agreement with Germany, giving her the right to re-arm at sea? . . .

Exceptionally outspoken was the New Zealand Premier on the question of "Non-intervention." Non-intervention—a policy the initiative for which came from Britain was being operated by Britain entirely in the favor of the insurgents. . . .

Concluding, Mr. Savage stressed the fact that New Zealand was a small country. Her distance, he said, from England and her armed forces made the policy of collective security for world peace an absolute necessity for her. . . .

There can be little wonder, therefore, that the Dominions are seriously disturbed by the misrepresentation of their point of view in both the Foreign Office communiques and in the reports of the semi-official press in this country. . . .

The Week, London

RE-HOUSING RUSSIA

Workers live in unprecedented comfort, but hasty building has taken its toll

By JOSEPH H. BAIRD

SOVIET RUSSIA, during the last decade, has carried out the Gargantuan task of re-housing a large part of its population. With vast enthusiasm, but with questionable wisdom as to haste, it has thrown up thousands of modern apartment buildings for workers who once lived in tenements or hovels.

Now, as the end of the second *piataletka*, or five-year-plan, approaches, Russian officials are viewing the result of this period of rapid building. On the one hand they see thousands of workers' families living in a comfort which their fathers never imagined could exist for a laborer. But, if the men in the Kremlin are mentally honest, they must see also many mistakes in technique to avoid in the future as Russia continues its effort to raise the housing standards of the masses.

Be that as it may, the end of the first ten years of Russia's long-term housing program provides a good vantage point for the foreign observer to look back over what has been accomplished.

In no Western country was the wide disparity between the homes of the rich and of the poor more clearly marked than in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Country houses of 20 and 30 rooms, their resplendent chambers kept by large staffs of servants, dotted the landscape of European Russia, while the serfs lived in straw-thatched, evil-smelling shacks along with their hogs and cattle.

In the cities the contrast was no less extreme. The homes of the nobility and wealthy merchants of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Odessa were among the most costly (if not the most beautiful, for Russian architecture was notably gaudy) in all Europe. A few of these—the American Ambassador's home in Moscow is a good example—have survived the ravages of the Revolution, and their marble interiors, mirror-like floors, and vast crystal chandeliers still are witnesses to their ancient grandeur.

Workers lived either in tumble-down wooden shacks around the edges of the industrial cities or were herded together with their many offspring (the Russians seem always to have been a prolific race) in one or two cramped rooms of a tenement.

In a few cities, notably St. Petersburg and Moscow, there was a middle class of minor government officials and professional men who lived in solid if unpretentious comfort. But this class was an insignificant part of the population.

When, in 1918, the prophets of Bolshevism proclaimed their new world, their classless society in which all men were to be not only equal in theory but actually equal in their opportunity to enjoy the good things of life, it was natural that the newly-empowered workers rushed to occupy the homes of the ousted gentry. This meant to them a concrete realization of Lenin's preachments. Just how millions were to occupy homes which previously had housed only thousands was an abstract matter which they did not stop to worry about.

Naturally, there was chaos. Servants moved from their basement rooms to their masters' chambers and invited aunts, uncles and cousins to share their newly-found splendor. Outsiders, who had known

neither the masters nor the servants, moved in, on the general theory that in a nation where the workers owned everything a worker naturally took what he wanted. Mansions which had housed one family soon were accommodating a dozen.

The infant Bolshevik Government acted soon and sternly to stop the wanton despoliation of art treasures and the looting of wine cellars, which filled the first days of the Revolution. Looters were shot without trial. Then, as soon as some semblance of government emerged, the city soviets set up committees to apportion floor-space and attempted to bring order out of chaos. But, preoccupied with the task of preserving their own power against the Whites, Lenin and his colleagues had little time at first to think of housing.

When, at last, the Whites had been vanquished and Communist power was unquestioned, the new leaders turned to this problem. For several years, however, they did little more than repair damaged buildings and try to distribute available floor space on an equitable basis.

Indeed, from 1923, which roughly marks the end of the chaotic revolutionary period, until the beginning of the first *piataletka* in 1928, the floor-space of new dwellings totaled only 136,301,719 square feet. Of this 81,358,621 square feet were privately built, as compared with only 54,943,098 constructed by the Government. During the period of civil war many houses fell into complete ruin through lack of repair. So it is doubtful whether five years after the revolution Russia had as much housing space as it did in 1918.

The First Housing Plan

The first national comprehensive plan to place Russia's toilers in better homes was not put into effect until 1928, a decade after the Revolution. This provided for the construction of thousands of the so-called "workers' apartments" of which the world has heard so much. Mostly they were built in the suburbs of the older industrial cities, near the factories, for the convenience of their occupants. In the newer towns like Kuznetz, naturally, all building is post-revolutionary.

In designing these apartment houses, the Russian Government. eager, for both political and emotional reasons, to break with the rococo architecture of the old régime, turned to a modified modernistic style. The new flats closely resemble those built by German and Austrian socialist governments in Berlin and Vienna during the mid-1920's, although they are neither so substantial nor so attractive, due to reasons which will be touched on later. Mostly the apartments are of two or three rooms, have one bath, are well-lighted and airy, but are shoddy in finish and accoutrements.

Progress in building workers' dwellings during the first and second *piataletkas* is pictured in the following statistics.

1928–1931, Inclusive	Floor space in square feet
Built by State and Cooperatives ..	284,841,063
Built by individuals	78,442,852
Total	363,283,915
1932–1935, Inclusive	
Built by State and Cooperatives	869,322,433
Built by individuals	43,055,480
Total	912,377,913
Grand total	1,275,661,828

Thus, in the eight years from 1928 through 1935, which include the first *piataletka* (accomplished in four instead of the originally contemplated five years) and the first four years of the second *piataletka*, Russia added about a billion and a quarter square feet to its housing space, or roughly seven and one-half square feet per person for its population of 170,000,000—a notable accomplishment.

From the beginning of the housing program until the end of last year, the Soviet

So foto

WORKERS' APARTMENTS: Spacious, comfortable dwellings for the Soviet workers, although sometimes the doors won't close and the windows won't open.

Government estimates, 11,000,000,000 roubles have been spent on new dwellings, or, at the present exchange rate of five roubles to the dollar, $2,200,000,000.* It is further estimated that within this period 5,000,000 persons moved into new dwellings.

The Soviet housing program, of course, is not completed. The second *piataletka* still has some months to run, and, without doubt, a larger program will be included in the third five-year plan, now being drafted.

Obtaining a Home

Turning, for a moment, from the general to the specific, how does the Soviet citizen obtain a new house or apartment? The answer will vary with his position and, as in capitalistic countries, his finances.

(1) If he has the money to construct a home, the Soviet of the town in which he lives will assign him free land on which to build. His only obligation, in return, is to put up a house on this ground and to pay the yearly property tax. The Soviet Constitution guarantees his right to a legally-acquired homestead. He may employ masons, carpenters and other artisans from an *artel* or arrange with a building trust to erect his house.

(2) If he is employed by a state trust or a factory that owns workers' apartment houses, he may take quarters in one of them, paying rent to the state just as he would pay it to a private landlord in a capitalistic country. Incidentaly, most of the new flats have been built by factories and trusts.

(3) He may obtain quarters from a rent cooperative—an organization which erects buildings for rent on the same basis as a capitalistic real estate company, save that its profits, if any, go to the state.

*Because during this period the rouble has not been listed on international exchanges and has varied greatly in its domestic purchasing power, it is impossible accurately to convert roubles into dollars. Probably the present official Russian exchange rate offers as accurate a method as any, although it was not established until 1935.

(4) Finally, he may join a cooperative and buy an apartment in a building which it will erect. Usually these cooperatives are made up of men in the same trade or profession. During my residence in Moscow, I lived in a cooperative house of Soviet writers.

Handicaps

In trying to re-house a nation, Soviet Russia has met three serious handicaps: 1. Poor building materials. 2. A scarcity of trained artisans. 3. An overwhelming desire for speed.

Pre-revolutionary Russia, save for its cathedrals, palaces and the relatively modern homes and apartments of cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg, had few houses that were not of wood. It never exploited its supplies of granite, limestone, and other building materials on a large scale nor developed the manufacture of high-grade brick. Hence when the Soviet construction trusts were ordered to begin the erection of thousands of brick and stone buildings they faced a task similar to that of the ancient Hebrew slaves in Egypt—making "bricks without straw."

Too, Soviet Russia began its program with few trained artisans. Even Old Russia never had many competent bricklayers, plasterers, and other construction specialists and, like every other class, they were depleted by the years of internal struggle. Hence the present program has been carried out largely by unskilled labor. The results of this are evident in the crudeness of the work: doors that won't swing, windows that won't open, and floors that warp and sag. In some of the new apartments I have visited, one only a few months old, wide cracks already had appeared in the masonry and paint was peeling from the woodwork. The life of these buildings obviously will be short.

In the judgment of most foreign architects and engineers who have seen the Soviet workers' new apartments, it is unfortunate that the Government did not take to heart the old adage about the value of "making haste slowly." That, however, would not be in accord with the widely-publicized "Bolshevik tempo"—the theory that everything must be done overnight even though, as a result, it is done very badly.

The quality of Russian building, of course, is improving. Better construction materials are being produced and a new corps of skilled artisans are being trained. Some 259,000 workers now are being schooled in the building trades. The result of better materials and more competent labor may be seen in some of the houses recently completed in Moscow for Red Army officers and other members of the privileged classes.

Unfortunately, though, the great building program of the last decade has been carried out with more regard for speed and show than for permanence. Technicians believe that a large part of it will have to be repeated within a decade.

The Eight Russian Generals

THE eight Russian generals who were executed on June 12 aimed, according to the statement of Marshal Voroshiloff published after their death, "to destroy the Soviet power, overthrow the workers' and peasants' Government, and restore the yoke of the landlords and the manufacturers in the Soviet Union. They were prepared to assassinate the leaders of the Soviet party and the Government." Few people would accept the first part of this charge as true, but it is possible that the second part was not far from the truth.

There is little doubt that Stalin, by getting rid of the eight generals, prevented a rebellion against his own power. Marshal Tukhachevsky and his fellows were neither traitors nor Trotskyists, but they were almost certainly planning to overthrow the Stalin regime. . . .

All of them were young men, for the most part between forty and forty-five years old, and they had risen to power at a time when there was close co-operation between the Russian Red army and the German Reichswehr. As young officers they had been deeply impressed by the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo. . . .

No matter what were their politics these officers of the Red army admired the efficiency of the Reichswehr. This was true of Marshal Tukhachevsky, who always championed an alliance with France; it was still more true of General Uborevich and General Kork, two of the executed men, who were definitely pro-German. . . .

The group was also well known to be anti-Polish. . . .

One of the charges against the generals, therefore, was that they had conspired with Germany to divide Poland, giving the Ukraine to Germany. This was nonsense, but it possible that the pro-German officers would have had no objection to a partition of Poland based on the Curzon line.

But though all the members of this group admired Germany and some of them would have liked an understanding between Russia and Germany which would have "given" Europe to Germany and Asia to Russia, this does not mean that they had actually conspired to realise their ambition. On the contrary, they had no intention of doing so, but there were other and more personal objections to the group which proved fatal.

Marshal Tukhachevsky, a man of some brilliance, had always despised Marshal Voroshiloff and had no great opinion of Stalin himself. This personal rivalry went back to the time of the civil wars. In 1919 Tukhachevsky was defending Moscow against the advancing White army under Denikin. The White forces were very near; they were already in Tula and Orel. The situation was desperate, but in spite of this a large Red force was held at Tsaritsin under the young Voroshiloff. After the war Tukhachevsky, in an article published in a military review, criticised the strategy of defending Tsaritsin instead of rushing the Red troops to the defence of Moscow. But the political commissar in Tsaritsin, who was really responsible, was Josef Djugashvili, now known as Stalin. It should be added, as a footnote, that Tsaritsin is now called Stalingrad. . . .

That, however, was the whole case against the eight generals. They were not Trotskyists, though they had a natural respect for the former leader and creator of the Red Army. . . But the combination of circumstances was fatal. Tukhachevsky and his friends knew, through their own spies, that they had been branded as "Trotskyists, pro-German, and anti-Stalin." They knew by experience what followed such charges. A rebellion against Stalin offered the only hope of self-preservation. With this knowledge they almost certainly began to conspire, but it was then too late.

The rest of the purge is quite separate from and unconnected with the army conspiracy. The industrial situation in Russia is bad, efficiency low, and production wasteful. The Soviet rulers find it easier to blame this on "enemies" who can be denounced, dismissed, and shot than on causes which cannot be got rid of at once. It is interesting, however, that among those shot was Fleischmann, the man who was responsible for the production of military material. The purge is far from an end. . . .

The Manchester Guardian.

Current history in the world of the arts

THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

By V. F. CALVERTON

IT IS exceedingly right and proper, as Robert Benchley would say (or is it Walter Winchell?), to write about one country while you are in another. Never write about the country you are in, said another American humorist, or you'll lose all perspective the minute you set pen to paper, or rather, these days, fingers to typewriter. In this connection, it is amusing to note that the Guggenheim Foundation scholarships had such a peculiar ruling not so many years ago that American writers who won them often found themselves in such an embarrassing situation that frequently they had to sacrifice sense and sensibility to fulfill their demands. Walter White, for example, the well known Negro author, who was determined to write a book about lynching, had to go to Europe, despite the fact that the best way to write it would be in the South, according to the circumscriptions of the Guggenheim Foundation. Consequently, the best book on *lynching* in America, *Rope and Faggot,* was written in Paris, or at least very near it, and not in the United States.

For these and divers reasons, I have no hesitation in writing about Canada while in England, and especially not when I plan discussing England before I conclude this article.

Canada: A Conundrum

What led me to want to discuss Canada from a cultural point of view was André Siegfried's recent book, *Canada,* which purports to be an analysis of the Canadian situation in the light of the most recent developments which have taken place in that country. As an admirer of Mr. Siegfried's earlier volume, *America Comes of Age,* I was extremely disappointed in this study, which in so many ways fails to do justice to the Canadian problem, and certainly fails to view it in terms of a progressive cultural outlook upon society. It is curious how Frenchmen, alert and acute when it comes to interpreting countries which bear no relationship to France, become bogged up and confused when they examine peoples and nations which bear something of the stamp of French heritage upon them. Mr. Siegfried's attitude toward Canada is as sentimental as Stuart Chase's toward Mexico. Mr. Chase, one of America's superlative journalists, went to Mexico and beheld Mexican handicraft in its native form and became so enraptured with it that he dedicated a large part of his book to extolling its virtues and wonders, neglecting at the same time the social and cultural implications underlying the nature of the society producing it. Mr. Siegfried went to Canada, and as a Frenchman became so enthralled by the quiet simplicity of French-Canadian life, the continuity of tradition inherent in it, the close-knit sentimentality governing it, that he forgot everything else: the ignorance, the stupidity, the ecclesiastical domination, the social backwardness, which are the corollaries of that form of existence. The result is that Mr. Siegfried's *Canada* is a study concerned with the retrogressive instead of the progressive cultural tendencies dominant in Canada today.

Having traveled from Montreal to Vancouver several times, stopping at various points *en route* for stays of divers lengths, and having visited a number of Canadian cities more than a few times, I have no hesitation in saying that my experiences in Canada have led me to conclusions which contradict those drawn by Mr. Siegfried. The amazing and paradoxical aspect of it all is that Mr. Siegfried, in most of his previous books, has taken a markedly pro-

gressive stand on most important issues. The only way to explain his unmitigatedly reactionary attitude on the Canadian question is in terms of French nationalism and Latin sentimentality with its irrepressible nostalgia for the old, the quaint, the picturesque. To preserve those virtues, Mr. Siegfried is willing to sacrifice education, social advance, and cultural progress. He is not only content but is eager to keep education in the hands of the Catholic Church, and implicitly favors the unprogressive political tactics and techniques which have become so notorious in the Province of Quebec where most of the freedoms inherent in progressive democratic states have been infringed upon and frequently denied and suppressed.

But what is most lacking in Mr. Siegfried's book is a consideration of the cultural currents and conflicts which have been active in Canadian life for centuries now. Mr. Siegfried has practically nothing to say about Canadian literature, art, music, or the Canadian psychology in such matters. He shows in illuminating detail how decidedly the French-Canadians have "cut themselves off" from France, but he does not deal in any adequate sense with how closely the English-Canadians, culturally rather than politically speaking, have continued to be bound by English influence.

Canadian culture has not only been influenced by England: it has been dominated by it. The results of that domination still can be discovered in various forms of cultural life in Canada today. It was as a colonial literature that Canadian literature began, and like every colonial literature, including American, it suffered from intellectual inferiority, artistic imitativeness, and cultural retardation. In attempting to express iself, it was more devoted to its maternal background than to its immediate environment.

The Colonial Complex

As in the case with all colonies, the colonial environment becomes first a place upon which old traditions are fastened and not a setting in which new traditions are

Canadian Pacific Railway

CANADA'S NOTRE DAME: The great cathedral at the Place D'Armes Square, Montreal.

conceived. It is only as the colony grows away from its maternal matrix that a new tradition can arise. By that time, however, the old tradition, in language as well as in spirit, has rooted itself so deeply into the colonial culture that even that which aspires to be new is inevitably burdened with much that is old. Every colonial culture, we can say, therefore, goes through several stages of development: first, the stage of determined adaptation, in which the colonials attempt to adapt their original culture to the new environment, stressing continuity between the old and the new; second, the stage in which the colonials begin to become conscious of themselves, national-minded, as it were, and in which the new conditions have already begun to modify the old traditions to such an extent that

differences become more important than resemblances; at this point, inaugurating the third stage in the process, the struggle for freedom from the mother culture becomes apparent and revolt in favor of a national culture takes on a definite turn; in the fourth and final stage the colonial culture, if the colony grows of itself and the environment provides it with sufficient strength to sever its umbilical connections with the mother country, it manages to create a national culture of its own.

Canadian culture is still in the third stage of that evolution. It is striving hard to achieve the fourth stage, which American culture attained sometime ago, but like a number of other people, Mr. Siegfried wants to discourage such advance on the part of both the English-Canadians and the French-Canadians. In the case of the latter, he wants them to retain their present cultural backwardness, fostered as it is by the domination of the church over education, because he believes they represent an interesting offshoot of the old world transplanted in the new. He is more concerned with the preservation of that backward tradition, which has been so unproductive of cultural advance in Canada, than he is in the transformation of that tradition into something newer and more progressive. In that connection, it should be noted that progressive French-Canadians, like some of the editors of *Le Canada*, especially M. Turcotte, are definitely opposed to Mr. Siegfried's point of view. They want a French-Canadian populace which is progressive instead of retrogressive in its outlook.

In the case of the English-Canadians, Mr. Siegfried is eager to see them remain in their present stage of cultural evolution, with England dictating their cultural tastes, conceptions, and outlooks, rather than develop, as the United States has done, tastes, conceptions, and outlooks of its own.

In both cases, Mr. Siegfried takes his stand on the side of reaction instead of progress.

For centuries, English Canadians were sycophantically emulative of England, with the result that their creative energies were throttled and their cultural stature truncated. In July, 1823, for example, in the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, the editor declared that the aim of the magazine was to aid "in keeping alive the heroic and energetic sentiments of our (English) ancestors." As Ray Palmer Baker in his *History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* stated, the literature itself bore out this influence in irrefragable detail. Later on in the nineteenth century, we discover such writers as Roberts, Johnson, Saunders, and Carman becoming national-minded and showing more concern for their native environment than for that of England. They found their inspiration, as Dr. Logan has indicated, in his *Highways of Canadian Literature*, "in the natural beauty and sublimity of their country and the lives of their compatriots. In short, their literary conspectus is thoroughly Canadian; and their inspiration and ideals too are Canadian." With the coming of the Confederation, Canadian culture entered the third stage of the colonial process, in which revolt in favor of a national literature became insistent. It was at this time that the slogan "Canada first" became popular. "It is Canada for the Canadian," Bernard Muddemain declared at this time, "and the immigrant as a literary force is past. A native literature is arising."

But despite that protest, and the many evidences of change which accompanied it, Canadian culture has not yet become Canadian in its own right, as American culture, for instance, has become American. Canadian literature or Canadian art, for example, have never developed the national individuality and spiritual autonomy of American literature and art. Cultural progress for Canada is to be found in encouraging, not discouraging, as Mr. Siegfried does, such independence and individuality.

The Mexican Scene

Turning away from Canada to Mexico, we are confronted with an entirely different situation. Mexico, despite its economic

backwardness, has made such rapid strides in cultural advance because it has emancipated itself from foreign influence and domination. Although economically Mexico is practically owned by aliens —over 90 per cent of Mexico's economic resources is controlled by American and European capital—Mexican culture suffers from no such handicap today.

For centuries Spanish and French influence predominated in Mexico, but within the last generation those influences have lost their sway over the nation. In its fight for cultural autonomy, Mexico has turned back to the Indian for its inspiration. The Indian, who is the purest of all Mexicans, has become the cultural matrix of the new Mexico. Mexico's two greatest painters, and two of the greatest painters in the world today, Rivera and Orozco, have made the Indian the central theme in their major works. The Indian to them has come to symbolize Mexico in its most indigenous and most challenging form. Out of the Indian's struggle for independence they envision the birth of a new and free Mexico.

But it is not only in painting that this re-orientation has occurred. In every other form of culture the same emphasis is manifest. In music, Chavez, the leading Mexican composer, has turned to Indian themes in many of his works, as also have almost all the other contemporary Mexican composers. In the dance, a similar evolution has occurred. Mexicans today are not only deeply concerned with reviving old Mayan and Aztec dances, which constitute a considerable part of their new cultural interest, but even their new dances are based upon current Indian themes. Mexican novels are no exception; they have followed the same pattern, cultivated the same *motif*. As a matter of fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the Indian, in the new Mexico of the last few decades, has become apotheosized—just as the worker has become apotheosized in Soviet Russia.

In the schools, for instance, where socialist education is being introduced, it is the Indian theme again that is stressed, and on the murals and in the textbooks it is the Indian who carries aloft, in the highways and byways of the new Mexico, the torch of the future. Under Calles' rule and now under that of Cardenas, the state devotes large subsidies to the cultivation of this new Mexican culture. Socialist education, which, in the main, is socialist only in name, has as its chief purpose the emancipation of the Indian from the cultural backwardness which has been his lot in the past. To make him literate, to free his education from the control of the ecclesiastics, to teach him to work out a new and more progressive form of existence—these are the objectives of Mexican socialist education which is part of the new Mexican culture.

***MEXICAN COMMENTARY:** This recent painting by Diego Rivera has been the subject of considerable controversy. Although the figures are not named they bear strong resemblance to many who are prominent in national and world politics.*

These objectives, as is obvious, are the opposite to those advocated by Mr. Siegfried in connection with the French-Canadians. "The most important influence exerted by the Church lies in education," Mr.

Siegfried asserts, commenting with enthusiasm upon the French-Canadian educational scheme, "which, from the primary to the superior schools, and even to the universities, is entirely in its hands. Above all it maintains its spiritual discipline over every phase of the life of the people, be it private or family, social, political, or economic. No aspect of their existence escapes its control. This priestly supervision has been able to be effective for so long a time only because it has kept the French-Canadians completely immune from external influence. They have been kept free from contact with any ideas which might be considered dangerous germs." It is just this fact which progressive French-Canadians lament rather than laud.

The Mexicans, denying Mr. Siegfried's thesis, believe that educational progress is possible only when education is taken out of the hands of the ecclesiastics and given over to the civil state, as is the case in England, France, and the United States. It is that belief, plus the struggle over control of church property, which underlies the fight between the Mexican government and the Church today. The Mexicans are not opposed to Catholicism as a religion; they the opposed to its educational intolerances and its propertied controls, and they believe that cultural progress is possible only when the Church is not allowed to interfere with education or politics and is forced to confine its activities to religion.

Americanization in England

Skipping now to England, where I happen to be at the present time, the first thing that is bound to strike an American who is interested in the cultural developments of both countries is the dearth of good English plays and the overwhelming predominance of American films. No matter where you turn, on Oxford street, in Piccadilly, or on the Strand, Hollywood celebrities stare you in the face: Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers, Spencer Tracy, Franchot Tone, Claudette Colbert, Irene Dunne, and a host of others. Hollywood has swamped London with its wares. And this, I understand, is no new phenomenon. It is an accepted fact by now.

It is a curious commentary on the two countries and their cultural relationships in the past to discover this reversal of influence. Prior to the twentieth century nothing in America was considered good unless it had the stamp of England upon it, whereas in England there was little that was considered good if it had the stamp of America upon it. Today America reveres its own things and no longer looks up to English things, and England in many fields besides the cinema is forced to respect American things even more than its own.

In the novel as well as the cinema, America has superseded England in creative energy and achievement. Aside from its older writers: Wells, Shaw, Barrie, Maugham, and that ilk, England's younger generation has produced few fiction writers of outstanding distinction since the War. Aldous Huxley is the main English contribution. America, on the other hand, has produced Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, James T. Farrell, most of them still young men with their best work ahead of them. It is gratifying to walk about in English bookstores and see how conspicuously the works of these younger American authors are displayed.

England at last is waking up to the significance of American culture. Up to a short while ago, most Englishmen considered American culture a barbarous extension of British, but today there is a clear-out realization in England that the United States has developed a culture of its own, which has a significance and challenge of its own, and can no more be ignored than French or German culture.

THE REALM OF SCIENCE

BIGGER and better trees, in particular faster growing trees, constitute the first aim of a new research project just launched at Harvard University. What the ultimate accomplishment may be, as the decades roll by, only time can tell. It is not fantastic to imagine that the next century may regard the start of this project as we now regard the original experiments with the steam engine or the early electrical experiments of Faraday, Henry, and the other electrical pioneers.

The new researches have been made possible by Maria Moors Cabot Foundation for Botanical Research, a fund of $615,773 given to Harvard by a member of the class of 1882, Dr. Godfrey L. Cabot of Boston. Specifically, the purpose of the gift is to investigate methods of increasing the growth of plants, especially trees, and the rate at which they manufacture cellulose and other substances valuable to mankind with the energy of sunlight.

Two considerations led Dr. Cabot to make his gift. One was the great success which has been obtained in improving the vigor, hardiness, and productivity of food plants and of domestic animals by scientific selection and by hybridization. The other was that modern civilization was making increased demands, not only for timber, but for wood pulp, as the raw material for the manufacture of paper, rayon, and other cellulose products.

Dr. Cabot was also aware that as time went on, the problem of finding substitutes for the world's waning supply of oil and coal would grow increasingly more pressing.

There are three possible answers to that problem. One is to employ the energy of sunlight directly to generate steam as in the solar engine invented by Dr. Charles G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institution, and on display this summer at the Great Lakes Exposition in Cleveland, Ohio. The second is that sunlight might be employed directly to generate electricity through some form of photo-electric cell. The third possibility is to employ sunlight as it is employed by plants.

Growing plants, with the aid of the green pigment known as chlorophyl, use the energy of sunlight to convert the carbon dioxide of the air and the water of the soil into the sugars and starches of their tissues. Two decades ago, the late Dr. E. E. Slosson summed up the situation when he exclaimed, "If we only knew as much chemistry as a tree." Perhaps the new researches at Harvard will accomplish Dr. Slosson's wish in time.

In recent years, chemists have made great strides in understanding the chemical nature of chlorophyl. Among the leaders in this undertaking was Dr. James B. Conant, who gave up his laboratory studies to accept the presidency of Harvard.

Dr. Elmer D. Merrill, administrator of the botanical collections of Harvard University, points out that no studies have ever been made on trees comparable to the breeding experiments carried on with food crops and domestic animals.

"This is in part due to the baffling complexities involved in breeding improved strains of plants with such a long life span as trees," Dr. Merrill states, "and in part to the fact that mankind has hitherto been able to rely largely on wild forests for timber and cellulose. It is only in the past 150 years that Europe has used intensive forest culture, and only in the past generation that America has made a beginning in that direction. As, however, only about 15 per cent of the forests of the world are under scientific cultivation and the rest are being threatened by destructive exploitation, the danger to the world's future supply of wood and cellulose is apparent.

"One important and promising solution of the problem lies in improving strains of trees used in the cultivated forests and it is on that aspect of the problem that Harvard is now enabled to launch a significant research program through the generous gift of Dr. Cabot.

"Men have often dreamed of building engines to use the primal source of energy, solar radiation, forgetting that in the living plant nature has already provided us with a marvelous mechanism for that purpose. But what can we do to increase the production of plants which store this energy? Obviously, there are fixed limits to the number of plants that can be grown per acre. The possible answer must be sought in producing plants that grow more rapidly, either because of their inherent genetic qualities or because of improved soils."

Financing Cancer Research

Among the largest of this summer's gifts to academic institutions was the $10,000,000 to Yale University to finance cancer research. Originally announced as an anonymous gift, the fund was later traced to the generosity of Starling W. Childs, New York banker. The fund is to be known as the Jane Coffin Childs Memorial Fund for Scientific Research.

His benefaction comes at a time when many eminent authorities are greatly worried about the cancer problem. Typical of the view of many observers is the opinion expressed by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Biochemical Foundation of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia.

Cancer, in the opinion of Dr. Hoffman, is on the increase while medical research on the subject, in his opinion, is in a state of confusion. Different authorities are investigating different lines of research and there seems no way of reconciling divergent points of view or drawing common conclusions from the work.

Only three methods of treating cancer are known—surgery, x-rays, and radium. All three depend for success upon an early diagnosis of the cancer. This is comparatively simple when the cancer is on the skin or in some easily accessible portion of the body. It is practically impossible when the cancer is in the stomach or some other portion of the body where it most often gives no sign of its presence until it is too late to cope with it.

Statistics, Dr. Hoffman says, show that in the U.S. registration area, the death-rate from cancer per 100,000 of population was 81.6 in the period from 1916 to 1920. It was 89 in 1921–25. It was 96 in 1926–30 and 103.6 in 1931–35.

Future of Medicine

The gifts for research to Harvard and Yale indicate the close relationship of scientific progress to the state of the social order. In the past, research has been financed chiefly by such gifts. Outstanding in scientific research have been such great endowments as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation.

This question as it relates to the future of medicine was discussed by Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd of New York, retiring president of the American Medical Association, when that organization held its annual convention at Atlantic City.

The hospital system of the nation, Dr. Heyd says, is faced with reduced income from its investments and at the same time is unable to discern any new givers of large funds.

"This means that support will have to come increasingly from the Federal Government," he told his fellow doctors at the convention. "This will certainly entail political control of the greatest source of medical practise."

The House of Delegates, governing body of the A.M.A., long opposed to all attempts at the socialization of medicine, nevertheless voted its willingness to confer with the Federal Government in working out a plan of bringing medical care to the indigent.

Many authorities think that the future will see the development of some sort of official state medicine. They think that side by side with the private practise of medicine will be set up some sort of Federal medical

service to meet the needs of those who are to be classed as "medically indigent."

Ambrose Swasey's Death

Ambrose Swasey liked to quote the line carved upon the tombstone of his old friend, John A. Brashear, the pioneer telescope maker: "I have loved the stars too truly to be fearful of the night." That, he would say, expressed his attitude toward death.

On June 16, 1937, at the age of 90, Mr. Swasey passed into that night which held no fear for him. Endowed by nature with a strong body and a keen mind, he had been in fine health up until the final illness, a bad cold which turned into pneumonia.

On his 90th birthday, he spent the day talking and joking with friends. A year previously, his 89th birthday had been made the occasion for showing the just completed 82-inch telescope to some 200 of his friends at the Warner & Swasey Co. plant in Cleveland. Mr. Swasey surprised everyone by rising at the luncheon and making an excellent speech in a loud, clear voice.

Born in Exeter, N. H., Mr. Swasey and his partner, the late W. R. Warner, came to Cleveland in 1881 to found the Warner & Swasey Co. They specialized in machine tools and big telescopes. Mr. Swasey used to say jokingly that they obtained their income from machine tools and their fame from telescopes.

Telescopes made by Warner & Swasey include the 26-inch telescope of the U. S. Naval Observatory, the 36-inch telescope at the Lick Observatory, the 40-inch telescope at the Yerkes Observatory, still the largest refractor in the world. More recent telescopes by Warner & Swasey are all reflectors, the 69-inch one at Ohio Wesleyan University, the 72-inch one at the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory of Canada, and the 82-inch one which will go into operation this summer at the new observatory of the University of Texas.

Disease Against Disease

Forest rangers fight fire with fire. Recently, medical men have been learning the trick of fighting disease with disease. From Europe came news of the discovery that general paresis, a form of insanity due to syphilis, could be checked with malaria. The fever of malaria kills the pale corkscrew-like germs of syphilis, the so-called spirochetes.

Now Dr. Philip S. Hench of the Mayo Clinic reports a series of cases in which the progress of chronic arthritis was halted when the patients developed jaundice. Medical men are hoping that this may be an important clew to the treatment of arthritis.

Uses of Sulfanilamide

The Atlantic City convention of the American Medical Association was in the nature of a triumph for the new drug, sulfanilamide, also known as prontosil. This is the drug which was used to treat President Roosevelt's son when his life was endangered by a septic sore throat.

A large number of eminent medical men reported the successful use of sulfanilamide in the treatment of a considerable variety of infections. It cannot, however, be used indiscriminately for all infections.

DAVID DIETZ

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

MAJOR JOHN PITCAIRN was born in Scotland and, aged 35, was killed by a Negro soldier among the defenders of Breed's Hill. Three charges up the hill had been rolled back disastrously. Pitcairn was out in front in the fourth—and successful—assault; he proved his mettle, but there was mourning when the news of the promising young man's demise reached his folks in Fifeshire.

Our school histories do not have space to commemorate his courage to any great extent, but, if it be true that he was not a famous hero, he was nevertheless a loyal soldier of the King, quite as much, say, as Lord Jeffrey Amherst. He exhibited this quality on various occasions during his seven-year tour of duty at Boston. Only a few weeks prior to his untimely death he was in charge of the advance guard of an expedition dispatched into the country to capture certain gentlemen conspiring treason and to confiscate a store of munitions before somebody should get hurt.

What must have been his astonishment at the audacity of the three-score armed villagers and farmers he found on reaching the little town of Lexington, drawn up in line of battle on the common, to dispute the progress of his detachment. Obeying his first impulse he shouted to the menacing rank, "Disperse, ye rebels!"

The immediately ensuing *res gestae* are in dispute. The testimony of Pitcairn was that the first shot came from the Minute Men. Whatever the truth may have been, the fact is that, in a trice, eight Americans were crumpled on the green and the rest had fled. The force of Regulars marched on up the road to Concord, whence, like the King of France, it later marched down again, somewhat precipitately.

You Can't Stand There

Change the scene to a vacant field adjoining a modern-day industrial area. Commute Redcoats for Bluecoats. Let them form in line of battle across the space, to dispute the progress, this time, of a column of striking workers, accompanied by families, sympathizers, and visiting strikers from out of town. Banners flying, they propose to disregard the obstacle presented by the police line; one among the leading elements begins to expostulate with the captain of police, explaining their right to parade on the street beyond. The hard-pressed captain shouts to the menacing column, "I command you in the name of the law to disperse!"

Again the immediate sequel is in dispute. Once more eight Americans are crumpled on the green, and many others badly mangled, some to die later.

Amid the welter of epithets engendered by grief, anger, hysteria, propaganda, malice, or plain revulsion, it is hard to reach a detached, unbiased judgment. One thought constantly reasserts itself: that respect for the law and its ministers of high and low degree is all that separates democracy from anarchy, and the realm from rebellion. That is why all parties to a great dispute, to retain the sympathetic interest of the general public, must obey the process and judgments of the courts, comply with statutes, and even respect police regulations. If the last are regarded as unreasonable, one does not quarrel with the policeman; if unable to obtain redress from the authorities, it were better to explain to a court before undertaking direct action than to have to tell it to the judge afterward. Ministers of the law, grand and petty, must, likewise, respect the law, remembering that we have come a long way along the path of democratic government since it was possible for a President to say, "John Marshall has given his opinion; now let him enforce it." The survival of

our institutions today may well be due to the subsequent vindication of the decision handed down on that occasion by Marshall and his colleagues on the Supreme Court.

The provocation may be very great, but the principle must hold. In a California town a mob mills all night around the jail awaiting the internment there of the perpetrator of a horrible, pitiful crime against three small children. No gentle reception lies in store for the criminal idiot. Yet at the peak of the excitement and public rage, the bereaved father of one child has the courage to say, "Let the law take its course."

Not only the bluecoats, but the organized militia also is facing novel problems in discipline today. It is announced by union spokesmen that any union member who is also a member of a National Guard unit called out for strike duty automatically is dropped from the union. This dictum recalls the famous sentence of Chief Justice Mansfield: "It is, therefore, highly important that the mistake should be corrected, which supposes that an Englishman, by taking upon him the additional character of a soldier, puts off any of the rights and duties of an Englishman." For this new announcement, made doubtless from the best of motives, may tend to unsettle the serenity of young labor-union men who also take the larger responsibilities of citizenship seriously enough to enlist in the Guard. While on duty, the guardsman must exercise impartial obedience, under the eyes of courts martial, and it is a serious thing to tamper with the *esprit* which makes it possible for him to do so. It is just as unbecoming for him to waver in his path as it would be for an active officer of the Army or Navy to participate too strenuously in polemics against the Government he serves. For both militiaman and professional soldier the touchstones of duty, honor, country are the same. It is not enough for either to say he has not broken any prescribed regulations; he must observe the spirit also.

The letter of the law, of course, governs primarily, and it might even not be *contra bonos mores* to take advantage of plain omissions in statutes. It is only when an undue advantage is taken of legislative discrepancies that the spirit of the law has been violated. This is what a joking Congressman meant when he said that the loopholes in the law, after certain tax avoiders jumped through them. didn't look like holes any more. To deserve respect. however, the law must not compete with a Swiss cheese, for every loophole creates a special privilege available only to perspicacious or fortunately situated citizens.

Moral Values in Law

Among the imperfections of our legal system is the suddenness of its tergiversations. Captains of finance, conserving their money through holding company devices declared to be perfectly legal. overnight become malefactors of great wealth. At the other end of the scale. burlesque artistes who one day are credited with having created a new native art. the next day are banished from the stage by law. Mutuality would seem to demand that if. on the one hand, wholehearted respect for law is exacted from the people. on the other hand the law and its enforcement must be humane and universal in applicability.

The same idea pervades the law of nations, although perhaps more honored in the breach. If municipal police are sometimes accused of overenthusiasm in suppressing riots, the same may be said of the degree of violence sometimes employed to inflict lawful international reprisals. as in the recent Almeria incident. In *The Army and the Law*. Professor Glenn observes: "The severities practiced by the Germans in 1870 for violations of this rule [against *franc tireurs*] by French civilians. are notorious enough. But the Germans were correct in their propositions of law; the only trouble with them was that then, as again in 1914, they showed themselves unfit ministers of justice. Under color of law they exhibited a spirit of cruelty incompatible with all theories of sanction." Candor compels it to be said, however. that here too the emotional penumbra that adheres to any discussion of this topic distorts the per-

spective and renders it difficult to find the golden mean of reprisals administered *vi et armis* yet *moliter*.

The law of reprisals is accepted on this side of the Atlantic also. Thus the *Codification of American International Law*. in Project No. 29, "Measures of Repression," pp. 116, 117, provides:

> Article 8. Reprisals. Reprisals consist in any act or measure undertaken for the purpose of obtaining directly or indirectly, reparation for the illegal conduct of another nation. . . .
>
> As the use of force against any American Republic is a matter of concern to all the Republics of the continent. any Republic against which an attempt is made to enforce any one of the above mentioned measures should immediately notify the Pan American Union in order that the governing board thereof may consider the matter and take such action as it may deem advisable.

Reprisals from overseas against American nations, however, are frowned upon, as may be surmised from this passage from Stowell and Munro, *International Cases*, II, p. 10:

> The landing of European forces on American soil and the drastic manner in which the German commander had sunk the Venezuelan vessels caused no little excitement in the United States, while in Great Britain the Government was freely criticized for endangering the cordial relations with the United States by its association with Germany in coercing an American state. The delicacy of the situation made particularly valuable the friendly offices of the United States.

The curious international law of reprisals, like other current precepts of this enlightened world which are being put to new tests in Spain, has a nostalgic quality, recalling the good old pre-Norman days of self-help in law enforcement, or the days when a hit-and-rumble-off oxcart driver who killed a pedestrian was forced to deliver *deodand*. In Spain, in those days, foundations were being laid for the mystic cast characteristic of Spanish law and administration for half a millennium after. King Alfonso the Wise in 1251 began work on his classic code of law called *Las Siete Partidas*. or the Law of the Seven Parts. The parts themselves are logically enough arranged, treating respectively (1) the Catholic Faith, (2) Emperor, Kings and other Grandees, (3) Justice, Judges and Trials, (4) Betrothal, Matrimony and Legitimate Issue, Other Issue, Parental Power, Vassalage and Feuds, (5) Contracts, including loans, donations. purchases, sales, exchanges, hiring, renting, merchants, markets. fairs, carriage, obligations, pawn, fiduciaries, payment, and all the other suits and proceedings between men, (6) Testaments, Codicils, Inheritances, Guardianship, and (7) Crime and its Suppression. The curious thing about the code, which was seven years in the making, is the reason assigned for the selection of the name and the division into seven parts. In the preface the King explains that it flows from the rule of seven, which he says is highly honored, and he illustrates with twice seven examples.

It is from such roots that our law as it exists today has been developed by slow and painful stages. Loyal deference to the law is more important to each successive generation. Whenever it seems that too headlong "We spur to a land of no name, outracing the stormwind," at least we have a chance to maintain a balance in our seats if we adhere to the rule of head and heart high, hands and heels low.

GUERRA EVERETT

ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

JUNE first and June thirtieth found German religious news in the headlines. Hardly a day intervened without some notice of new developments on the Church-State front in the land of the Third Reich. When one reviews the historical background of the present German situation, one is not at all surprised to find that religious history is "in the making" in Germany.

Was not the invasion of the Roman Empire by Germanic tribes the final blow to the Empire? And who will deny that the fall of imperial Rome enabled the Roman Church, with its genius for organization, to rise to and assume undreamed of importance, culminating in the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. And it is common knowledge that Germanic kings were for long periods "Roman Emperors," one of them, Otto the Great, even going so far as to journey to Rome in 963, depose a Pope whom he considered corrupt and appoint another, forcing the Romans to promise never to elect a Pope without the Emperor's consent and approval.

Did not German missionaries convert Wends, Poles, Prussians, and Hungarians, and organize them under German bishops and archbishops in the Catholic faith? The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a new type of theology developed in Germany—the mystical—seeking to know God by direct intuition, through contemplation and feeling, the illumination of the spirit. Deeply affected by this "new approach to God," the masses were organized into "lay brotherhoods."

The world is also indebted to Germany for much of the real driving force of the reformation. John Huss, as a forerunner, and Martin Luther, as the actual reformer, are but two of the outstanding contributors to this great movement, the ultimate result of which, in Germany, was the foundation of the Reformed (Calvinistic) and the Lutheran Churches. These continued until 1817, when they were united at the Reformation Jubilee in Hesse-Nassau and Prussia (union in the Palatinate 1818, Baden 1821, Hesse 1823, etc.). This "Evangelical Church," as it is still called, was opposed from the start, especially by the Lutherans. Both the Evangelical Church and the Catholic Church have in Germany what may be termed a "dual personality" that is, they are not only religious bodies, but they also act as political organizations. The most influential political party in Germany for many years has been the Catholic, or Centrist, group, which, while not comprising a majority in itself, yet has controlled enough votes to swing almost any election the way it wanted to.

This powerful political group, owning allegiance to the Papacy, is one of the factors which Herr Hitler and his Nazi colleagues have to contend with in their efforts to develop a united Germany, all parts of which (and all of each individual part) they feel must be entirely subordinate to the state. The failure of the Papacy to take any definite and vigorous stand on behalf of these adherents led to the "coup of 1933."

The Evangelicals (or Confessional Churches, as they are also classified) are divided as to their attitude toward the control of the Church by the state. Those who originally were members of the Reformed Church continue to hold to the theocratic ideals of Calvin, and thus are unalterably opposed to any dominance of the state over Church affairs. The Lutheran part of the Evangelical Church, on the other hand, has been content to have the government supervise the activities of the Church, so long as they were permitted to conduct their services and to enjoy the financial support of the state. (Both the Catholic and the

Evangelical Churches have been up to the present moment supported in the main by government subsidy.)

The Jewish problem is a third factor in the complicated picture of Germany, as viewed from a religious standpoint. The Jews have been called by one of their own number "the most completely urbanized" people in the world. Studious, industrious, acquisitive, the Hebrews in Germany during the World War and in the years immediately following were prominent in the financial and professional field. Careers in the Army and the Navy (outlawed by the Treaties of 1918) being no longer open to scions of the leading families in Germany, they naturally turned to other fields of endeavour. Finding that they were unable to compete with their more experienced Jewish competitors, the Germans decided to do something about it. The outbreak of a nation-wide pogrom was the result. This, it seems, was the spark which ignited the powder-barrel of opposition between the Nazi ideal of the super-state and the Jewish philosophy of life and government, which places all of creation under the direction of God and His laws.

The German Faith Movement

A fourth factor which looms large on the religious horizon of Germany is the new German Faith Movement. Tracing its origins back to the early part of the nineteenth century we find the Germanic Church, which proposed that Christianity be absolved from all Jewish, Old Testament, Pauline, and Lutheran—in a word, all foreign—influence. Claiming that Jesus was an Aryan, the interdenominational German Reich Church would preach "the dignity of man, the love at the heart of the Gospels, the Fatherhood of God, and the natural manhood and wisdom of Jesus the teacher." Mathilde Ludendorff, who became a leader in this movement, broke with Christianity and sought to base the new German Belief In God "on a pantheism which conceived God as expressing himself differently in different race groups according to their different natures." According to Hermann Wirth, the *Hakenkreuz*, or swastika, is simply the symbolic quintessence of the original ancient Nordic faith, "a spiritual derivative from close primitive biological contact with nature."

Thus we find three groups, the Jews, the Calvinistic part of the Evangelical Church, and the Roman Catholic Church (represented politically by the Centrist and the Bavarian People's parties) opposed to the Hitler movement and as a consequence making themselves anathema to the Nazi officials. It is not strange, therefore, to read of the various steps which the Nazi Government is taking in order to achieve its avowed purpose of claiming the undivided and unadulterated loyalty of every German man, woman, and child.

In view of this, we can understand the attitude of official Nazidom (whether we approve its methods or not). Faced with the antithetical philosophy of Judaism, Nazidom decides to "liquidate" the Jews. It is to be noted that persecution of Jews in Germany is not a religious one—that is, Jewish worship has not been interfered with. The economic and social restrictions placed on Hebrews, on the other hand, bid well to devitalize the so-called "foreign" influence of these "non-Aryans." There were no notices of any new or startling developments in Nazi anti-Semitism during the month.

Preparing for Church Elections

Having tried vainly to consolidate the Confessional Churches with their neo-pagan German Faith Movement on June 30, Herr Hitler and his Church Minister Hans Kerrl prohibited all reference to or campaigning for the coming Church elections until the Government sets the date and issues instructions. Furthermore, a second order creates a centralized system of finance boards under Dr. Kerrl to administer Church funds throughout Germany. No Bishop, synod, or local church council will be permitted to administer any Church funds except with permission and under supervision of the Minister's boards. Already on June 16 Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Min-

ister of the Interior, had issued a decree making it a crime to contribute money to the Confessional Synod or any other organization within the Protestant Church not specifically approved by Hans Kerrl, the Minister for Church Affairs.

Progressive reductions of the public funds that are paid under existing treaties to both the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Bavaria was announced on June 27. Presumably, after a three-year period, these appropriations will be discontinued entirely.

Earlier in the month, the Superior Prussian Court had decided that Churches can receive no protection from the courts against secret political police action, taken "in the interests of state security." This opinion is evidently a blanket ruling to cover not only house searches without warrants, but arrests and imprisonment of pastors in concentration camps or their expulsion from their parishes. A special wireless to *The New York Times*, under a June 27 date-line, states that "all members of the Prussian Confessional Synod with the single exception of the Rev. Martin Niemoeller . . . have now been arrested." Fifty-two of the 108 pastors arrested during the few weeks preceding this notice were still in prison on June 28, undergoing examination by the secret police or awaiting trial. Nazi officials deny that these wholesale arrests are in preparation for a "surprise poll" in the postponed Church elections. It would be a great advantage, if the elections were called suddenly, to have all the leaders under arrest at the time.

To date nearly two hundred convictions have been registered in the series of Catholic immorality trials. Of these the larger part have been lay brothers. On June 20 the Pope held an extended conference with 11 Cardinals to give them a report on recent developments in Germany, to submit to them the White Book the Vatican has prepared, and to decide what to do when and if Germany decides to end diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The only decision made was to publish to the world the White Book if further measures of the German Government make this step necessary.

During June, 966 parochial institutions in Bavaria were secularized. The dissolution decree is a direct and unquestioned breach of the Concordat with the Vatican, which guaranteed the continued existence of the Catholic schools. What steps the Vatican will take are not yet known. It is reported that Pope Pius and Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, differ as to procedure, the Cardinal favoring vigorous action and the Holy Father advocating a policy of moderation.

America Protests

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland and its executive committee, attacked the Nazi Government for its refusal to allow German delegates to attend the World Conference of the Churches on Church, State and Community in Oxford in July. The resolution closed with the following words:

> We bear upon our hearts the burden which is upon our fellow Christians under the shadow of persecution and gross misrepresentation. We associate ourselves with their sufferings. We long for the day when the mighty Christian tradition of the true Germany shall once more be free to express itself affirmatively in the life of the churches, in their world-wide community of interest as witnesses to the eternal primacy of Christ's leadership and the inalienable right of the individual conscience as set forth historically by Martin Luther, who obeyed God rather than man.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

☆ THEY SAY ☆

Translations and quotations from the press of the world

Hitler Over Bilbao

THE battle for Bilbao was fought in London. In Bilbao itself we felt peculiarly helpless. There was the Line, the Iron Belt, the "Centuron," but whether that held everyone felt did not depend primarily upon the Basque defence, but upon the forces that Germany and Italy would be allowed to bring to Spain.

In Bilbao one could watch day by day the slow strangulation of the Basque Republic, not by General Franco's troops but by the Non-Intervention Committee in London. Since the sinking of the rebel battleship *España*, it would have been quite possible to bring in arms from abroad by sea; and, indeed, while I was there a small Spanish Government ship did manage to slip through from Valencia with a cargo of anti-aircraft guns. Up to that date there was for the defence of the town of Bilbao one anti-aircraft gun—not one battery, just one gun—and even that was quite out of date and always breaking down. Five or six modern anti-aircraft guns might not have prevented Bilbao being bombed, but they would at least have kept the rebel planes at a height; they would at least have prevented them from swooping down and machine-gunning the civil population, and it was the machine-gunning that probably caused the most casualties among women and children. When caught by a machine-gunning plane, if you keep absolutely still—hiding, if possible, in the shadow—you will almost certainly escape. But to teach this to old peasant women and children is difficult, and once you start running the chances are small. "My orders," a captured German pilot told me, "were to machine-gun anything moving." . . . Better, of course, than anti-aircraft guns would have been chaser planes. . . . It was just this that could not be done. The rebels had unlimited numbers. At first we would not believe that there could be so many. When, towards the end of May, a prisoner told us that he had himself counted 144 chasers and bombers at Vittoria airport, no one believed him. Government information was that when the control system was imposed the rebel air force, though large, was not anything like large enough to allow this huge concentration at one aerodrome. Now, after having witnessed the last week's raids on Bilbao, I think that probably the prisoner was right. The Iron Line was lost because the control system, while denying a single foreign anti-aircraft gun to Bilbao, let slip through from Germany literally hundreds of planes.

The bomber used most frequently on the Basque front is now the German Heinkel III. Significantly, the first of these planes appeared a few days after the imposition of the control scheme. At the time of the bombing of Guernica, that is, at the end of April, they were still comparatively rare, and though both the mayor of the town and the parish priest to whom I spoke picked out at once the picture of a Heinkel III as having taken part, it seems that the main bombing was done by Junkers 52. By the end of May the Heinkel III had largely superseded the Junkers 52. I saw, myself, the charred fragments of a log found in the wreckage of one of those Heinkels. "April 6th," it reads, "Berlin-Rom, April 7th Rom-Sevilla." I saw a passport found in the same plane. It had been issued in Berlin to one Hans Sabotka, described as a German subject

and a "Captain." Issued on April 5th, it bears the stamp of Rome airport dated April 6th. . . . It is a measure of the German disregard for the Non-Intervention Committee that they allowed their planes to fly in Spain with such documents aboard.

In the air the Basques faced the German air force; on the ground Italian conscripts. A few days before the final attack, one of them who had strayed out of the lines, was brought in as a prisoner. He was a little confused at finding himself in Spain at all, having volunteered as a labourer in Abyssinia. He was, it appeared, a cook in one of the battalions of the celebrated "Black Arrows," the so-called mixed brigades of Italian and Spanish volunteers. His culinary practice provided an interesting commentary on the proportion of Spaniards present. The whole battalion was fed on macaroni. He had come, of course —one had grown to expect it—after the ban on volunteers. "In my boat," he said, "there were twelve hundred of us."

We sat in the Presidencia, some seven or eight of us, round a great mahogany table. There were two journalists, an important officer from the Ministry of War and two officials from the Foreign Office. On the table were a pile of documents. The prisoner looked at them: "They have taken the picture of my mother," he said. "Perhaps it is there." I shall always remember the spectacle of the Basque officials and officers searching painstakingly through the pile: "Was this it?" "No." "Was this?" "No." "Never mind, we shall find it soon; they should not have taken away the picture of your mother."

—*The New Statesman and Nation*, London.

CHAMBERLAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Stanley Baldwin retires in a blaze of glory. On every occasion, during the Coronation festivities, he was heartily cheered by the crowd. He owes his prestige and his authority to the manner in which he solved, last December, the dynastic and constitutional crisis. In 1926, he broke the General Strike of the workers. In 1936, he broke a strike by royalty. However, in the diplomatic field he showed neither the same courage nor the same vision. . . .

Eventually he agreed with Eden and the rest of his cabinet on some general principles: Mutual military assistance with France on the

Daily Herald, London

FATHER LOVE AT GENEVA

Western frontiers, alliance with Egypt and Irak and for the rest, immediate application of economic sanctions against any aggressor in accordance with the League of Nations Covenant.

A sweeping and bold program, one would say, taking into account the traditional empiricism of English diplomacy. But it was achieved so slowly, with so many retreats and hesitations, that it failed to produce the expected effect. British policy was only taken seriously by the World when Parliament had voted one hundred and fifty million pounds for rearmament during the next five years as a loan in addition to the sum to be derived for that purpose from normal revenues. Too late! The German war machine was already fully launched.

It was important to know whether Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the new Premier, would accept the legacy of his predecessor as is, or whether he would try to introduce some changes such as the reduction of the League of Nations obligations of Great Britain in order to render a Rhine Pact compatible with the oft-repeated German dislike for collective security and indivisible peace. However, in spite of doubts expressed in recent weeks, we know, from now on, what to expect. Neville Chamberlain has clearly stated his position to M. Delbos during the latter's Coronation visit to London. He will follow the line laid down by Baldwin and Eden, and, very probably, he will follow it with greater firmness, energy

Daily Herald, London

Give me every guarantee I won't be bitten to death by that savage and licentious bird, and I may come out and join you!

and swiftness of decision than the retiring Premier.

There will be no change on the essential point—the interdependence of Western Europe. Chamberlain made it plain to the Dominion Premiers, assembled in Imperial Conference at Downing Street, that England cannot give free rein to Pan-Germanism at the other end of Europe without facing the possibly swift rise of a Hitlerian Mitteleuropa, which certainly would not leave Britain and France in peaceful possession of their colonial domains. South Africa and Australia already know this, New Zealand will soon be convinced and Canada, in spite of her dislike for League of Nations obligations, will follow suit.

But in order to rally the Dominions themselves round the Imperial Government, the war spirit, latent in Germany, must show itself openly once again. . . .

We have good reasons to believe that the question will hinge on the XVIth Article of the Covenant. Geneva failed in its attempt to apply that article to Italian aggression and there are many people who are now inclined to think, in England, France and elsewhere, that this article has become good for nothing. However, the German statesmen are not of this opinion. They believe that the attempt in the Fall of 1935 failed only because England and France failed to throw their full weight behind it. They can imagine quite a different state of affairs, should the two great Western democracies, supposing their main interests were directly affected, mobilize their entire power and call on all other states, large and small, to follow them. They fear that German property abroad would be seized thruout the world, German citizens expelled from foreign countries, all relations with the Reich broken, with worse things to follow. . . .

It is, then, Article XVI of Geneva, or what is known in Paris, London, Moscow and Praha as the organization of Peace, that will be the chief object in the diplomatic game—so fraught with consequences for Europe—which is about to open.

—Pertinax in *Courier des Etats-Unis*, New York.

GREATER DUPLICITY

It would appear that in the present negotiations with Germany the French Government is not prepared to go so far as the British in satisfying the demand of the gangsters for guarantees against any possible resistance on the part of their victims. One day last year an eminent diplomatist now in retirement said to me: "We live in a time in which anybody with sufficient effrontery can get away with anything and get anything across." We do indeed, at any rate in Europe, and in my opinion the fact gives disquieting support to Spengler's theory of *The Decline of the West.* Even now, for instance, the majority of people in England probably do not realise that the British Government went in for "sanctions" against Italy in 1935 only to secure an electoral victory with the firm intention of making them ineffective so as to have an excuse for never applying them again, and of putting an end to them as soon as the victory was won. The main lines of the Vansittart plan, commonly but erroneously called the Hoare-Laval plan, were communicated by Mr. Baldwin to the Comte de Chambrun, who was then French Ambassador to Rome, at Aix-les-Bains in September, 1935, just at the time when Sir Samuel Hoare made his noble speech at Geneva. Nobody, not even Hitler or Mussolini, is capable of greater duplicity in politics than a high-minded God-fearing English gentleman. *On peut toujours s'accommoder avec le Ciel*—and with British public opinion. Mr. Baldwin has become a national hero since he openly avowed that he had deceived the electorate to get votes.

—*The New Statesman and Nation.*

Anglo-American Trade

THROUGH one of the two most important subjects under discussion, the Anglo-American trade treaty proposals have been notably absent from all the official publicity devoted to the Imperial Conference proceedings. . . . The proposals in question are the reductions in the Ottawa tariff wall demanded by the Americans as the price of a trade agreement giving similar concessions to British manufacturers. The concessions demanded by the U.S.A. are intended for the most part to secure an easier entry for American agricultural products into Britain, although it is suggested by some well-informed observers that certain manufactured products, such as automobiles, are also covered.

Most of the sacrifices would, however, have to be borne by the Dominions and their trade importance might be considerable. In spite of this, the political significance of an Anglo-American trade agreement in the present state of international affairs would be greater than its actual trade significance and, aware of this, three at least of the Dominions—Canada, New Zealand and Australia—are pressing hard for the conclusion of such an agreement.

The British Government, on the other hand, have been—and still are—back-pedalling furiously on the whole agreement. When at a recent press conference awkward questions began to be asked about the Anglo-American situation, the Minister in attendance drew a gloomy picture of the chances of the Dominions agreeing to any Ottawa concessions and devoted much care to creating the impression that the whole thing was in the hands of the Dominions who would, in all probability, drop it.

—*The Week*, London.

CAPITALISM IN GERMANY

The economic and social policy of National Socialism does not include a single feature not conceived or practiced in Germany in the past. The political philosophy and practice of National Socialism are exclusively the incarnation of familiar traits of German history. The German conception of capitalism was always essentially different from the Anglo-Saxon, because it was developed in the direction of a greater resemblance to the Western pattern of capitalist democracy. The war certainly terminated what seemed to be a very promising historical development. During the war a totalitarian regime was established for the first time. During the war the entire social and economic fabric was subjected to government regulation and interference. During the war whatever feeble elements of genuine economic liberalism might have come into being during the preceding decades were definitely eradicated.

What National Socialism builds up is war economy once more but war economy on a Socialist ideological foundation. National Socialism is as genuine Socialism as it is genuine Nationalism. And this regime has inherited a full-fledged machinery from the improvised episode of democracy which struggled hopelessly for life from the hour of its birth in 1918. It was the democratic republican government in Germany that was already in control of the banks, the railroads, the power sources, the urban transit systems, the municipal gas and water, vast housing developments, and large parts of heavy industries. How many German industrialists were still independent of the Government in 1932, before Hitler came into power? How many could afford to arouse the ire of a determined government, to challenge it by refusing cooperation? Hardly a handful.

And the workers? Should German workers, brought up in Marxist ideology, in the pursuance of collectivist ideals, trained to demand public ownership, should they oppose a totalitarian regime which promised to complete what their own men had left undone? Could they fight for individual liberties on economic and social grounds? Hitler had only to reap where his foes had sown. Capitalism is lost where it is not built on liberalism and democracy. And liberalism and democracy are lost where they fail to convince the people of the necessity of capitalism as the only available economic safeguard of political, intellectual and spiritual freedom.

—"V" in *Foreign Affairs*, New York.

NAZIS IN AUSTRIA

The Nazi creed is conquering in this country in more than one way. There is, for example, a rapidly growing anti-Semitism in Austria, and while the anti-Semitism of the

Glasgow Record

In Russia Now—It's An Ill Wind, Etc.

Catholic Clericals in the past was of a religious nature, now it had adopted racial characteristics. The Heimwehr, which was dissolved last year, is now coming to new life in the form of comradeship organisations of former Heimwehrmen, and there is one organisation which gathers the former followers of Starhemberg (though the Prince keeps aloof from it), while another collects the friends and comrades of Major Fey. The Starhemberg followers, amongst others, adopted not only a decidedly pro-German character (their Linz organ, the "Neue Zeit," is being sold with the other Nazi papers in Austria), but they have taken the Aryan paragraph for their organisation, which means that no Heimwehrman with Jewish ancestry will be taken into it.

A Pan-Aryan Union has been formed in Vienna which intends to serve as a gathering organisation of all Aryans (which means anti-Semites) in the world. The Mayor of Vienna ordered that the name of Heine should be removed from the Heine-Hof, one of the municipal tenement houses, and the marble tablet with Heine's relief portrait was also removed. There is an ever-increasing economic boycott against Jewish doctors and lawyers and against Semitic shopkeepers, and there is even a social boycott now to be seen against Jews in quarters which hitherto kept aloof from the Nazis.

On the other hand, not all is well in the ranks of the Nazis. As Germany cannot openly show her hand, the Nazis cannot boast of unity. Just recently a "Feme" (revenge) action of the Styrian Nazis was discovered which led to the arrest of the chief of staff of the illegal S.A. in Austria. Two advertising agents of a German paper were kidnapped by political opponents and released only after 24 hours. Originally it was intended to take them across the frontier. The inquiry revealed that it concerned the two rival organisations of the Nazis. One group of the Nazis, and apparently this is the more important one, is now led by Captain Leopold. But other groups are more radical and have close connections with Frauenfeld and with the Austrian Brown House in Munich. These two groups conduct a regular war on each other. Thus the illegal "Oesterreichischer Beobachter" sides with Captain Leopold, while the other illegal Nazi organ, the "Kampfruf," assails Leopold.

—*The Manchester Guardian.*

The Stiletto Murders

OPINION is hardening in circles linked with the French Sûreté . . . that Professor Rosselli, editor of the anti-fascist paper *Justice and Liberty* and organizer of the Garibaldi battalion of the International Brigade which was largely responsible for the rout of the Italian troops at Guadalajara, was murdered by the same gang who assassinated the Russian banker and emigré Navachrin and Mlle. Letitia, the French Secret Agent recently done away with in the Paris Metro.

All the murders bear striking similarities: all three victims were people who had, for some reason or other, crossed the path of the Italian espionage system in France; all the murders were, from the point of view of the criminal, "perfect murders," worked out by experts after detailed and prolonged preparation and all the murderers—or at least so it would appear at the moment—got away with it.

While the murder in the Metro was perhaps the most sensational of the three and that of the Russian banker, the first of the trio—it happened in the January of this year—the most crude (the victim was "taken for a ride and his stabbed body found in a ditch in the Bois de Cologne"), that of Rosselli, was the one most nearly approaching technical "perfection."

Rosselli met his death in much the same way

as did Matteotti on the eve of the anniversary of whose death the crime was committed. . . .

The French view is that, basing their methods on the Matteotti case as a model, the assassins have perfected their technique, improving it with each successive murder. As a result, a big hunt for those responsible is now taking place in France, while in this country, where it is believed the murder was planned, Scotland Yard are busy watching a group of Italians on whom they have had their eyes for some time.

Meanwhile, French indignation has been increased by the recent report that the quick-firing revolver used to assassinate M. Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles was a German service revolver of a new type which must have come from the German War Office—the revolver was not issued generally to the German Army until several months after the Marseilles killings.

(It is, of course, known that the Croatian Ustachi, the terrorists who did the killing, had, and still have for that matter, their newspaper published in Berlin with the support of the Foreign Political Office of the Nazi Party.)

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the plan to murder Professor Rosselli was not altogether unknown to certain high officials of the Doriot French Popular Party which, it is known, is riddled with both German and Italian secret agents.

That, even if ever discovered, Professor Rosselli's murderers will go unpunished, however, is now generally believed—certain influential circles both in France and this country holding that to bring them to justice would, in the present explosive state of international relations, be a diplomatic *faux pas* of the first magnitude.

—*The Week*, London.

Muskete, Vienna

A MODERN STILL-LIFE

DOWN WITH FASCISM

The French strikes last summer had already provoked important movements in Italy. The news from Spain disturbed people's minds still more, and at the end of 1936 there were street demonstrations to acclaim the Spanish Republic and protest against the assistance given to Franco.

The movement began at Terni, it spread to Bologna, to Leghorn, and even to Naples, where clashes occurred on the occasion of certain embarkations. Time has not calmed this emotion, but on the contrary recent events have aggravated it. I take the following passage from an article on the subject published in the "Nuovo Avanti":

"There is considerable agitation in Piedmont and throughout Lombardy. At Genoa, Turin, and Bologna the walls are covered with bills bearing such words as 'Down With Fascism! Long live Republican Spain!' One evening certain parts of Milan were plunged in total darkness for 25 minutes. When the current was restored thousands of small bills still wet with paste covered the walls of the town. They denounced the brutal intervention of Fascism in Spain and announced that the hour of liberty would strike for oppressed Italy."

The arrests are numerous. Two hundred are mentioned in Genoa alone. Among those jailed are artists, savants, intellectuals of all categories, workingmen, and technicians.

Why all this repression? The authorities allow it to be understood that they have discovered a subversive organization which was provoking the movement. This is the eternal mistake of dictatorships, which imagine that discontent is provoked by agitators, and cannot understand that "agitators" on the contrary succeed in moving the crowds only to the extent to which the regime has made them discontented.

But the more the authorities agitate themselves the more the agitation grows. They help

to maintain it by the very brutality and the cynical injustice of their police measures to a greater extent than the most hardened revolutionary could do.

—*The New Leader*, Socialist, New York.

NORTH POLE MEETING

In the sunny Polar night, with a strong North wind blowing, all the inhabitants of the ice-floe gathered in a triumphal meeting to celebrate the official opening of the station "North Pole". We were thirty-five men.

Otto Iulevich Schmidt arose and gave a brief but warm address on the opening of the first scientific station on the drifting ice of the North Pole. He was answered by the leader of the four men who will remain one year at the station. "You will have no cause to be ashamed of us," he said.

The speeches ended. At Schmidt's command, Ernst Krenkel, the radio operator, pulls on the wire, and the flag with the emblem of the U. S. S. R. rises on the mast. On a neighboring mast a flag waves with the picture of Comrade Stalin. Three salvos from rifles and revolvers resound.

A great joy, a surging feeling of emotion takes hold of us. We will never forget this minute.

In the renewed silence Otto I. Schmidt is heard reading clearly and distinctly his report to comrades Stalin and Molotov. Baring our heads we sing the International. The victorious hymn of the Revolution rises over the icy expanses of the Arctic.

These were the last minutes of our stay on the ice floe. The motors of our four splendid airplanes were already running. Kissing our dear friends goodbye and shaking hands with them we hurried to the planes. Final moments of leave-taking. We noticed that Otto Schmidt walked a few paces apart to say a silent goodbye to the camp. He looked warmly for a few minutes at the tents, the electric windmills and the waving flags, then turned with decision to the first airplane.

At the start the sky was overcast with clouds. We rose higher than them and, again, the dazzling Arctic sun was shining over us.

The leading ship takes a firm course. Three other ships follow behind us. We rise higher and higher. The motors run smoothly. We remained aloft four hours.

—*Pravda*, Moscow.

DUTCH CHRISTIANS

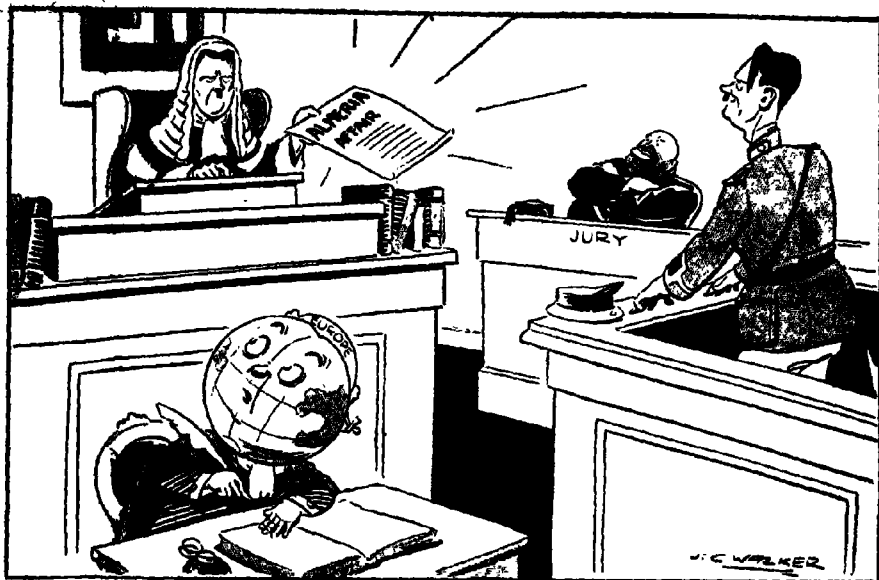
The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, during its recent session at Pretoria, showed its earnest desire to act as a guide in social matters as well as in matters of doctrine and church administration. It showed a praiseworthy sense of responsibility and a great measure of common sense in refusing to be drawn into the political and industrial controversy about the rights of trade unions and the merits and demerits of the closed shop principle. It issued a well-reasoned and remarkably clear statement on the question of what constitutes decency in clothing and physical exercises.

The attitude taken up by the Synod in regard to both these questions must have surprised the unbiassed among all sections. Generally it is found that affairs of daily life are treated by spiritual leaders of a nation in a spirit of disdain and intolerance, but there is no trace of such a spirit in the Dutch Reformed Synod's resolutions on the two points referred to.

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that the same body of Fathers of the Church adopted an extraordinarily hesitating attitude in a matter much more closely connected with religious principles, viz.—the question of racial persecutions. The matter under discussion was that of missionary work among non-Christian sections of the people. At the close of a lengthy discussion a resolution was passed which deserves serious attention. It reads:—

"The Synod declares unequivocally: (a) that it is and remains the duty and calling of the Church, according to the Saviour's instructions, to bring the Gospel to all nations that have not yet accepted it, until it can efficiently be done by converts in such nations, when the task can be handed over to them. *To this rule the Jewish nation must not be allowed to form an exception because of any agitation that may be in vogue, or may be started, against them.*

(b) further, that persecution of any section of the community does not meet with its approval. *Where anti-Jewish movements are started for economic or other reasons, the Synod will leave it to the Christian feeling of its members to judge in how far such movements are justified or not, considering the general national interests.*"

The italicized portion of clause (b) of the

South Wales Echo

Judge: You are charged with murder, manslaughter, and other violence. What have you to say?

Defendant (conducting his own case): Not guilty, my lord!

Judge: Myself and jury are of the same opinion. You are discharged.

[Germany has decided she was justified in bombarding Almeria.]

resolution shows that the Synod is not prepared to state "unequivocally" that it condemns as un-Christian all persecution of Jews. Apparently it disapproves of such persecution where it may be detrimental to the progress of proselytising amongst the Jews, but where "economic or other reasons" are adduced for anti-Jewish movements the members of the Church must consult their own Christian feelings to decide whether persecution is "justified or not." The only conclusion to be drawn from that statement is that the movements of Greyshirts or Blackshirts may be justifiable, provided some "economic or other reasons" can be found for the preaching of persecution. The Greyshirts have never been backward in discovering "economic reasons" as well as "other reasons" for their campaign against Jews and Jewish property, and it must be assumed that they will make very active use of the Synod's resolutions to work on the "Christian feelings" of Church members. And if a good many of these members should come to the conclusions that there are sound "economic or other reasons" to attack the Jews, the Synod cannot escape responsibility.

It will be interesting to read the inevitable comments of the Calvinist leaders in Holland and Switzerland on the Synod's resolution.

—South African Opinion.

THE FRONT POPULAIRE

Many observers . . . hold that the time is near when the break-up of the Front Populaire will be accepted by public opinion as an inevitable and even as a desirable change —whatever that change might bring. New financial difficulties loom large on the horizon, the problem of wages and prices, though less acute, is still present, and with the trade unions in their present state of mind, labor unrest and conflicts of a singularly "undemocratic" kind between Labor and the Government threaten to continue.

On the other hand, Blum early in May reaffirmed his determination to continue the "pause" in the realization of the Front Populaire's proposed reforms. He rejected Jouhaux's more extreme demands, among them the ten-billion-franc public works program and the creation of a C.G.T. monopoly of the labor market. The labor truce effected

for the duration of the Exposition has helped to restore confidence. On their part, the Left extremists seem to have become aware that they had gone too far; and for the time being at any rate they are less intransigent, thereby temporarily lessening the general tension.

A great question is how the working class would react should there be a change of government, should a more bourgeois coalition take the place of the Blum Cabinet. Will they submit, or will they rebel in the vain hope that a government even more to the Left may seize power; in accordance with the purely demagogic prophecies of Thorez? There is no parliamentary majority for such a government, and its establishment would mean a revolution. The prospect seems fantastic; for no one can run a revolution with at least four-fifths of the nation against it.

—Alexander Werth in *Foreign Affairs*, New York.

Partition of China

FOR a certain time there have been rumors about political negotiations and the possibility of an agreement between England and Japan. Following the decision taken by the British Government approximately in February 1935, to defend the interests of British investments in China from the threat of Japanese aggression, the reestablishment of an understanding with England became one of the basic problems of Japanese foreign policy. Leith-Ross, at that time economic commissioner of the British Government in the Far East, made two trips to Tokio in the hope of reaching an understanding with Japan acceptable to England. It was only the complete failure of his attempts that forced England to stiffen her policy in China against Japan.

The Japanese Imperialists were then drunk with the successes of their arms and their political intrigues in China, and their dumping on foreign markets. They asked from England nothing more or less than to forswear the principle of the Open Door in China and, at the same time, to accept that principle in British colonies. This would have meant capitulation before Japan, a course naturally rejected by London. On the contrary the British showed—as in the celebrated currency reforms of Nanking—that they were capable of assuming a serious counter-offensive in China. Following that, the development of a crisis in Japan's relations with China and her growing international isolation made it imperative for Japan to secure an agreement with Great Britain and forced her to retreat from her original position. . . .

Secret negotiations now taking place in London have progressed to such an extent that the London *Times* of May 3 of this year can say that the Foreign Office is awaiting the concrete proposals of the Japanese Government.

The general features of the proposed agreement are known. As early as the middle of April the Japanese newspaper *Nitsi-Nitsi* affirmed that England agrees to recognize the special interests of Japan in Manchukuo and North China, while Japan, promising to respect the territorial integrity of China, recognizes on her part the special interests of Britain in Central and South China and promises to cooperate with her in the economic sphere.

The diplomatic observer of the Sunday *Times* of May 2 outlines the Japanese plan with the following changes: formal recognition of Manchukuo will not be required and an international loan to China is to be sought.

In both the Japanese and English versions the projected agreement amounts to a new partition of China into two spheres of influence,—Japanese in the North and British in the Yangtze Valley and in the South. Following the model of the worst period of the dismemberment and looting of China by certain Imperialist powers at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Japan and England promise to respect their respective spheres of influence in China.

In anticipation of the formal adoption of the agreement the British *Peking and Tientsin Times* already promises British financial support for Japanese exploitation in North China and demands of the officials of those provinces direct agreements with Japan without consulting the Nanking Government. Yet the Anglo-Japanese agreement is still in the stage of discussions!

The projected deal has, as we see, a specific character. In spite of protestations as to the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity, it would mean their in-

Glasgow Record

Versatility—Admiral Mussolini, before reviewing the Fleet, takes the salute from a few of his supporters.

fringement by Japan and the final liquidation by England of the Washington Nine Powers Pact.

These Anglo-Japanese discussions have seriously alarmed public opinion in China. The Chinese know perfectly well that English comments on the supposed willingness of Japan to renounce further expansion in China do not correspond with reality. The Japanese Militarists will not and cannot draw back—for to do so would proclaim their bankruptcy.

Indeed, it is precisely in order to expand her military, political and economical penetration of China that an agreement with England is necessary for Japan. The Chinese paper *Shitsedjibao* rightly says that a compromise with Japan is being concluded by England at the expense of China, an agreement that creates a situation for China's partition. With no less grounds the *Shunbao* states that "the conclusion of an agreement would be equivalent to the division of China into two protectorates—English and Japanese," and calls on China for unity and resistance. Undoubtedly, the Anglo-Japanese negotiations, capable as they are of exerting a considerable influence on both Far Eastern affairs and the international situation as a whole, deserve careful attention.

—*Izvestia*, Moscow.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, June 11—July 10

DOMESTIC

JUNE 11—Monroe City Commission, Michigan asks Gov. Frank Murphy for martial law to prevent bloodshed at scheduled tri-state labor rally.

Mayor Lionel Evans of Youngstown, Ohio granted broad powers to deal with steel strike situation.

Bethlehem Steel workers join in sympathetic strike.

Senate Committee votes inquiry into mail deliveries to besieged workers at Chicago.

House of Representatives votes to continue "nuisance" taxes two more years.

JUNE 12—Governor Murphy dispatches troops to labor meeting at Monroe, Michigan.

Senate Committee votes to force municipalities to pay 40% of W.P.A. costs.

JUNE 13—John L. Lewis calls out 9,000 workers in seventeen mines owned by Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

Fifteen injured in police clash with strikers in Johnstown, Pa.

Department of Commerce reports $9,000,000,000 income rise in 1936.

American-Canadian parley opens at Kingston, Ontario.

JUNE 14—Peaceful picketing to be permitted at Monroe Steel plants.

Five injured in police clash with strikers in Johnstown, Pa.

Eighteen shipyards paralyzed by strike of 4,000 workers on Eastern Seaboard.

Senate Judiciary Committee reports court bill unfavorably while denouncing Roosevelt.

JUNE 15—President Roosevelt says that concerns agreeing verbally to workers' contracts should sign.

Republic Steel Corporation sues postal authorities over non-delivery of mail to plants during strike.

Picketing resumed at Monroe, Michigan under supervision of Mayor.

JUNE 16—Mayor Daniel J. Shields appeals to President Roosevelt for aid against the C.I.O.

Managements of Republic and Youngstown Steel companies refuse to attend mediation conference called by Governor Davey.

Films of Memorial Day strike clash in South Chicago reveal a police massacre.

Senate wrangle blocks vote on relief measure.

JUNE 17—President Roosevelt appoints board to speed steel strike agreements.

Sheriff Elser asks Youngstown Steel plants to remain closed during mediation.

Philip Murray, chairman of the C.I.O., charges Chicago police guilty of "deliberate murder" on Memorial Day riot at Republic Steel plant.

Japan notifies U.S. that naval guns will be built to limit; repudiates 14 inch agreement.

JUNE 18—Senatorial revolt against New Deal leadership threatened; Senator Robinson leads fight for relief economy.

Attorney General Charles J. Margiotti of Pennsylvania after inspecting Johnstown strike situation advises Governor Earle to withdraw martial law order.

Russian plane over North Pole en route to United States.

President Roosevelt sends Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor to Cleveland for strike mediation.

JUNE 19—Martial law ordered in Johnstown; Governor Earle closes Cambria plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

John L. Lewis halts threatened march of 40,000 coal miners on Johnstown to assist steel strikers.

Russian fliers reported over Canada.

C.I.O. leaders charge steel management with sabotaging the Wagner Labor Act.

JUNE 20—Steel strike wage toll mounts to $10,000,000.

Bethlehem Steel Company closes Cambria plant under orders of Governor Earle; management charges duress.

Johnstown, Pa. pastors attempt to break strike from pulpits; preach against C.I.O. and denounce Governor Earle for closing plants to prevent bloodshed.

Dr. Angell of Yale denounces Roosevelt regime.

JUNE 21—President Roosevelt asks steel mills to remain closed throughout period of mediation.

Governor Davey of Ohio, declares martial law in Youngstown and vicinity.

Steel management led by Tom M. Girdler, chairman of the Republic Steel Corporation, refuses to make agreement with C. I. O. workers despite efforts of Federal Steel Mediation Board.

Johnstown Citizens Committee asks for Senate inquiry into steel strike.

JUNE 22—President Roosevelt assailed in Congress for his steel strike policy.

Youngstown, Ohio under martial law; troops close all steel mills.

John L. Lewis is charged with encouraging President Roosevelt to consider a third term.

JUNE 23—C. I. O. calls a "labor holiday" in Warren and Niles, Ohio, bringing 14,000 workers on strike protesting enforcement of court injunction.

Federal Mediation Board again fails to secure joint conference of steel executives and C.I.O. officials.

Senator Borah in Senate speech warns against fascism among youths.

Governor Earle of Pennsylvania urges third term on President Roosevelt.

JUNE 24—Tom Girdler, Republic Steel head, appearing before Senate committee denounces C.I.O.; calls Philip Murray of C.I.O. "liar."

Mayor Lionel Evans of Youngstown, Ohio appeals to President Roosevelt to force opening of steel mills for loyal workers.

Governor Earle calls off martial law in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

JUNE 25—Youngstown steel mills reopen.

Governor Davey of Ohio orders troops to protect workers against strikers.

President Roosevelt holidays with 150 Congressmen at Jefferson Islands Club in Maryland: move to secure party harmony.

JUNE 26—17,500 non-strikers return to work in Youngstown, Ohio steel mills.

National Labor Relations Board issues complaint against Ford Motor Company for "interfering with, restraining and coercing" employes.

Governor Davey of Ohio says Secretary of Labor Perkins urged him to hold Girdler until he signed union contracts.

C.I.O. sues to prohibit use of Ohio troops to escort workers into closed plants.

JUNE 27—C.I.O. charges Youngstown Steel management with terrorism against workers as steel plants reopen.

Governor Townsend refuses to send troops to East Chicago, Indiana, for strikebreaking purposes.

Senator Vandenberg asks three amendments to Wagner Act to protect rights of minority employes, the employers and the public.

Officials worried by presence of Soviet engineers in U. S. airplane plants.

JUNE 28—Army of "vigilantes" and American Legionnaires organized in Michigan to fight C.I.O. drive on Ford.

Bethlehem Steel reports Johnstown strike broken.

JUNE 29—President Roosevelt voices indirect criticism of both workers and employers; offers a "plague on both your houses."

Dynamiting of water mains closes Johnstown steel mills; Johnstown Mayor orders strike leaders to quit city.

Newspaper publishers band together to fight Newspaper Guild; vote resolution against closed-shop.

President Roosevelt evades direct answer on inquiry regarding a third term.

Senate ratifies seven Pan-American pacts signed at Buenos Aires conference; specific purpose to preserve the peace.

New York Supreme Court rules Communists have lost party status; unable to list candidates for elections in Fall.

JUNE 30—Inland Steel strike ends in truce; C.I.O. accepts plan by Indiana Governor.

Steel mills reopen in Canton, Ohio; eight workers injured in riot.

La Follette forces admission of "brutality" from Chicago police in connection with Memorial Day massacre.

New direct ship subsidy replaces mail payment plan; Maritime Board reports 23 companies have signed agreements.

JULY 1—Secretary Perkins issues public report stating that she has seen no C.I.O. irresponsibility.

Fifteen persons injured in W.P.A. dismissal riots in New York.

Democratic Senate leaders abandon President Roosevelt's court bill: Senator Robinson offers substitute.

JULY 2—Both legislative bodies scrutinize new court revision bill. Farm Tenants' bill approved by both Houses of Congress.

Pan-American Airways begin exploratory flights over Atlantic Ocean; will establish passenger and mail service to Europe.

JULY 3—Secretary Perkins denounces sit-down strikes as unsuited to American life.

Ford Motor Company challenges authority of National Labor Relations Board.

The Seattle-Star suspended by disputes between Newspaper Guild and Teamsters Union.

Commerce department reports figures for May show export trade balance rising steadily.

JULY 4—Pan-American clipper en route to Newfoundland; inaugurating trans-Atlantic plane service.

Amelia Earhart lost in Pacific on flight.

Governor Earle pledges his support to 12,000 steel strikers rallying at Johnstown.

Labor Board reports 103 strikes, affecting 17,869 workers, were ended in May; 1,917 cases handled.

JULY 5—Cleveland steel plants to reopen under supervision of National Guard.

Labor Board starts inquiry into Ford Motor Company violation of Wagner Labor Act.

JULY 6—Felony warrants issued against the Ford company and fourteen employes charging them with beating union men.

Johnstown pickets abandon steel mill for plan to force National Labor Relation Board election.

Picket hurled in front of automobile is killed at Michigan furniture factory.

200 workers indicted by grand jury at Youngstown, Ohio for inciting to riot.

President Roosevelt orders $400,000,000 saving; proposes ten per cent cut on all outlays.

Senator Robinson opens debate on substitute court revision bill: defies enemies to filibuster.

JULY 7—Twenty-one shot, one worker killed in strike battle at Alcoa Aluminum plant in Tenn.

C.I.O. organizers identify five Ford company thugs as assailants.

Justice Department investigators threaten to push anti-trust action against Western Union and Postal.

JULY 8—William Green declares C.I.O. failed in drive on steel; denounces Lewis as enemy of labor.

Republic Steel opens its last closed mill in Cleveland.

Witnesses before the NLRB describe Ford men at May riot as "typical hoodlums."

Senate majority invokes gag rule to frustrate threatened filibuster on court bill.

Revised Black-Connery bill on wages and hours reported to the Senate.

JULY 9—Imperial Airways flying boat *Caledonia*

arrives in New York from Great Britain.

Senate convulsed by struggle over Court Plan; opponents see fate of New Deal in the balance.

Steel industry returns to normal; independent companies hail victory over C.I.O.

JULY 10—Charges filed against Aluminum Co. in Tennessee placed before the Labor Relations Board.

Democratic legislators defy Administration to oust them for opposing court plan.

INTERNATIONAL

JUNE 11—German Foreign Minister von Neurath visits Budapest to dissuade Hungarians from joining Czechoslovakia in anti-Nazi front.

JUNE 15—German Foreign Minister von Neurath to visit England; Anglo-German rapprochement seen.

JUNE 17—Great Britain, seeing Russian Army weakened, turns towards agreement with Germany and Italy.

Tokyo rejects Anglo-U. S. appeal for limitation of naval guns to 14 instead of 16 inch caliber.

Little Entente Conference, held in Roumania, stresses unity.

JUNE 20—Neutrals blamed for fall of Bilbao, made possible by fascist intervention.

JUNE 21—Baron von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, cancels visit to England for failure of powers to take action against Valencia Government over *Leipzig* incident.

JUNE 23—Italy and Germany quit central naval patrol of Spain; Fascist fleets massed off Spain; Valencia fears naval attack.

JUNE 25—British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain sees war situation as "serious but not hopeless," urges Europe to be calm.

JUNE 27—German war veterans give cheers for King George VI at Berlin rally.

JUNE 29—Russia agrees to evacuate two Amur Islands on boundary between Siberia and Northeastern Manchukuo.

France warns U. S. that internal affairs may force her to quit three-power currency agreement.

French crisis worries Berlin meeting of International Chamber of Commerce.

JULY 1—Russian and Japanese forces concentrate on Amur after sinking of Soviet ship by Japanese.

British delegate to International Chamber of Commerce conference in Berlin urges Germany to give satisfactory guarantees of peace in return for gold loan.

JULY 2—Soviet issues big defense loan, but urges withdrawal of Soviet and Japanese troops from the border.

JULY 3—Foreign Minister Anthony Eden states that England is determined to maintain territorial integrity of Spain.

JULY 6—Dr. H. H. Kung, Chinese Finance Minister, asks U. S. aid in restoring China.

JULY 7—British Government, following report of Royal Commission, approves division of Palestine into three parts—one Jewish, one Arab, and one British.

JULY 8—Japanese and Chinese troops clash near Peiping.

JULY 9—Japanese and Chinese agree to withdraw troops, pending negotiations over Peiping conflict.

Italy assures England that she will ban anti-British broadcasts to Arabs.

JULY 10—Fighting renewed in China; Japanese capture two towns near Peiping.

France and Germany sign trade pact.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

JUNE 11—Rebels occupy ridge over Bilbao's last line of fortification.

JUNE 12—Rebels break through defenses at Bilbao.

Loyalists threaten action against foreign submarines found in territorial waters.

JUNE 13—Planes and artillery batter Bilbao defense; rebels gain. Loyalist air forces bomb rebels at Aragon.

JUNE 14—Rebels drive to encircle Bilbao.

Spanish diplomats to confer with Premier Negrin at Balencia.

JUNE 15—Bilbao "in extremis"; rebels continue steady advance.

JUNE 16—Rebels rain explosives on Bilbao; fall of city imminent.

Loyalis[illegible]ship seized by crew to prevent offic[illegible]ns.

JUNE 17[illegible] Government quits Bilbao.

General [illegible]co rules out all compromise peace proposals.

JUNE 18—Bilbao falls; Rebels enter city without meeting resistance. Basque troops in full retreat west of Bilbao.

JUNE 19—Basques evacuate Bilbao.

Rebels issue food to starving populace.

JUNE 20—Rebels drive toward Santander.

General Franco thanks Mussolini for his faith and aid.

JUNE 21—Basque troops rally west of Bilbao; to make last stand.

JUNE 22—Britain and France refuse to join Germany and Italy in naval demonstrations against Spanish Government in retaliation for submarine attack on German cruiser *Leipzig*.

JUNE 23—Germany and Italy quit neutrality patrol off Spanish coast. Rebels drive toward Santander; Capture munitions plant. Valencia expresses fears of German naval attack.

JUNE 24—Seven German warships enter Mediterranean for unknown destination.

JUNE 25—Italy demands Neutrality Commission make final settlement on Spanish patrol.

Rebels drive westward from Bilbao.

JUNE 26—Mussolini determined to back Franco in Spain.
Madrid defeats Rebel attacks; Basque troops prepare resistance west of Bilbao.
JUNE 27—Rebels continue gains at Santander; Basque troops deserting.
JUNE 28—Loyalists accuse Germany and Italy of maintaining unofficial submarine blockade.
Italy to abandon negative attitude on non intervention patrol.
JUNE 29—Germany and Italy oppose Anglo-French patrol of Spanish coasts.
Rebels enter Valmaseda, important iron center; Basques fight Asturian allies.
JUNE 30—Seven warships of undetermined origin stage hostile demonstration off Spanish island of Minorca.
JULY 1—Italy and Germany reject joint Franco-British patrol of Spanish coast; France threatens to open border.
JULY 2—Basques abandon stand in Northern Spain; casualties placed at 45,000 dead and wounded.
Basque President Aguirre accuses Valencia-Madrid regime of abandonment in hour of need.
JULY 3—Madrid repulses Rebel attacks.
Rebels bomb seaport of Santander.
JULY 5—Loyalists attack in north, east and center; Basques retreat before Rebel force.
JULY 6—Loyalists report gains outside Madrid. Rebels report entering Santander Province.
JULY 7—Britain appeals to France for compromise on non-intervention patrol; London again yields to fascist powers.
JULY 8—Loyalists advance outside Madrid; defeat Rebel counter-attacks.
JULY 10—France threatens to suspend patrol of Spanish border on July 13.

FOREIGN

Brazil

JUNE 16—Two generals arrested; military conspiracy against Vargas Government suspected.
JUNE 17—Full constitutional rights, suspended during "state of war" since November 1935, restored to people.

France

JUNE 11—Rosselli brothers, Italian exiles, publishers of anti-Fascist newspaper, found dead.
JUNE 14—Blum Government threatened by financial crisis; two members of Exchange Equalization Fund resign, protesting government's new financial proposals.
JUNE 15—Popular Front emerges safe from long debate in Chamber of Deputies; Premier Blum given powers to stop speculation against the franc.
JUNE 16—Senate expected to indorse granting of financial powers to Blum Government.
JUNE 19—Senate refuses emergency powers for Blum Government, but House of Deputies readopts program.
JUNE 21—Blum Cabinet resigns as Senate refuses emergency fiscal powers for second time.
JUNE 22—Camille Chautemps, Radical Socialist, heads new Government, ex-Premier Blum becomes Vice Premier, George Bonnet takes Ministry of Finance, Yvon Delbos remains Minister of Finance.
JUNE 24—Communists agree to back Chautemps Government.
JUNE 29—Payments in gold suspended; Bourse closed, as Premier Chautemps asks Parliament for full financial powers.
JUNE 30—Chautemps Government gains full powers to restore public finance and defend gold reserve, by vote of 380,228. Franc cut adrift from gold content limitations; four-cent value anticipated.
JULY 8—New taxes, direct and indirect, add 8,000,000,000 francs to burden on taxpayers.
JULY 10—Workers divided as Paris unions call hotel and café strikes.

Germany

JUNE 16—Decree makes it criminal to contribute money to any organization within the Protestant Church not specifically approved by the Minister for Church Affairs.
JUNE 17—Import and export trade continues to gain, although raw material shortage causes shutdowns and dismissals.
JUNE 20—Nazis close all Catholic schools in Bavaria.
JUNE 27—Bavarian Minister of the Interior announces progressive reduction of state aid to churches.
JULY 1—Rev. Martin Niemoller, successful Protestant opponent of Nazis, finally arrested.
JULY 6—Poor grain crops expected, necessitating larger purchases from abroad.

Great Britain

JUNE 16—Sir John Simon, new Chancellor of the Exchequer, presents to the House of Commons 5 per cent tax on business profits over £2,000 a year to meet rearmament costs; plan replaces Neville Chamberlain's unpopular growth-of-profits levy.
JUNE 28—House of Commons approves enlargement of exchange equalization fund from £350,000,000 to £550,000,000.
JUNE 30—Duke of Windsor hotly denies hurrying arrangements for his father's funeral, breaking tradition of Royal reticence in controversies.

Irish Free State

JUNE 14—Parliament approves draft of new Constitution and is dissolved; new Constitution to be submitted to people in momentous general election.
JUNE 24—Close race predicted in general election.

JUNE 30—Great Britain unperturbed over prospect of De Valera victory.

JULY 6—Election ends in stalemate, De Valera party gaining exactly half seats.

Italy

JUNE 18—All Fascists ordered to subscribe to Mussolini's personal organ, Milan's *Popolo d'Italia;* largest circulation in Europe anticipated.

Japan

JUNE 15—Cabinet seeks five-year plan to increase production; draft submitted by War Minister looks to cooperation with Manchukuo.

JUNE 24—Army's six-year industrial plan calls for tripling of Japan's industrial production and total military and naval expenditure of 11,000,000,000 yen.

Mexico

JUNE 25—Decree places all farms under state control; government to fix maximum and minimum prices, regulate farm production, and control exports and imports.

JUNE 27—President Cardenas struggles to gain control of labor unions.

Paraguay

JUNE 15—Paraguayan Army revolts against Provisional President Rafael and attempts to put Chaco peace pact into effect.

JUNE 17—Refusal of Paraguayan Army to retire from its positions in the Chaco creates tense international situation.

Russia

JUNE 12—Eight prominent Red Army generals sentenced to death for aiding enemy powers.

JUNE 13—Two men warned to reorganize the automobile, tractor and combine industry or face trial.

JUNE 14—Twenty-eight executives and employees of transiberian railway executed for sabotage.

JUNE 16—A. G. Cherviakoff, president of the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, commits suicide, following arrest of 45 colleagues.

JUNE 18—Soviet monoplane, carrying three men, passes over North Pole on 6,000 mile non-stop flight from Moscow to Oakland, California.

JUNE 20—Soviet fliers complete polar flight, landing at Vancouver, Washington, 600 miles short of goal.

JUNE 24—Vehemence of propaganda organs suggests widespread discontent, according to *New York Times* uncensored despatch.

JUNE 27—General Alkins, chief of Red Army Air Force, believed to be under arrest.

JULY 3—Churchmen accused of participating in counter-revolutionary plots.

This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

The Pan-American Conference held out bright hopes for American trade to the south. But the old European rivals are back again in force, with new recruits in the ranks of the contenders for that rich market. The editors survey these rivalries in *Pan-American Trade Conflicts*.

Unnoticed by most of the world, Great Britain has been going on a grand financial and industrial spree, following the best pre-1929 American traditions. **Frank C. Hanighen,** the co-author of *Merchants of Death* and a frequent contributor to numerous American periodicals, tells all about it in *Behind Britain's Boom*.

Richard L. Neuberger, who contributed *America Talks Court* to the June issue, follows up with a discussion of the dilemma of a leading liberal who opposed the President's Court reform proposals. *Senator Wheeler's Plight* is the more significant because it is the plight of many other progressives. Mr. Neuberger is an editorial writer for the Portland *Oregonian* and the co-author of the recently published biography of Senator Norris, *Integrity*, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

It has been the fate of several newspaper correspondents who have expressed views on the situation in Japan unpleasant to the authorities there to be refused admission to that country. **Marc T. Greene** states that he doesn't want to go back: anyway, the censors probably won't let him after reading his article, *How Dangerous Is Japan?*, a very frank and timely discussion of a crucial question. Mr. Greene is a noted American correspondent for the *Providence Journal*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Manchester Guardian*.

W. Carroll Munro, an associate editor of *Current History*, writes *Cameras Don't Lie*, which discusses the implications of the recent censorship of the Paramount news-film of the South Chicago riot.

Arms Over Europe is the first of a series of four articles by **Curt L. Heymann,** a former contributor to Current History and a member of the editorial staff of *The New York Times*. The present instalment considers the position of Great Britain—how well she is armed and to what purposes she intends to devote her huge rearmament program. Subsequent articles will deal with the Fascist powers, France and her allies, and Soviet Russia.

The Black-Connery Bill has brought up the much-debated questions of higher wages, shorter hours, and their effects upon the progress of recovery. In *What Price High Wages?* **Herbert M. Bratter** lucidly analyzes this whole problem. Mr. Bratter, who now writes for the Washington *Star*, was formerly senior economic analyst for the U. S. Treasury Department.

While Fascism has been making heavy inroads in southeastern Europe, it has been far from universally successful. **Henry C. Wolfe,** the author of *Yugoslavia's Design for Democracy*, brings expert knowledge and first-hand information to bear on the subject; he conducts a regular feature on international events in the Columbus (Ohio) *Sunday Dispatch* and is fresh from a recent visit to Europe.

1937 has been crowned with success for the crusaders for birth control. **Mabel Travis Wood,** who contributes a timely article on this important social problem—*Birth Control's Big Year*—is editor of the *Birth Control Review*.

All the economic indices are climbing, *but* . . . **Charles Hodges,** professor of politics at New York University and a member of *Current History*'s editorial advisory board, discusses the signs of recovery and the "but" in *How Real Is Recovery?*

Here is a fascinating piece on the little-known Virgin Islands—*Caribbean Laboratory, U. S. A.* It is contributed by **Robert W. Desmond,** a member of the editorial staff of the *Christian Science Monitor* magazine. He has just published an important work, *The Press and World Affairs*, (Appleton Century), which Harold J. Laski describes as "a service of outstanding importance."

Re-Housing Russia is another of **Joseph H. Baird's** illuminating descriptions of conditions in the Soviet Union, where he was formerly a United Press correspondent.

TRAVEL

Where History Is in the Making

DESPITE its forbidding name, Iceland has had an increasingly wider appeal for travelers in the last few years. It is true that its northern coast-line hugs the Arctic Circle, but Iceland's southern and southwestern shores—little more than 500 miles from the British Isles—enjoy a relatively mild climate. The mean annual temperature in the most thickly-settled regions is almost 40 degrees Fahrenheit; an Iceland winter is not much colder than in many sections of the United States.

But favorable weather in the lower half of the country is only one factor in the renewed interest in the Land of the Sagas. More important to many visitors is the way in which Iceland has made democracy work. Like Denmark, with which it is united by a personal bond of union under the government of King Christian X, Iceland has found that the "middle way" is best. Disregarding prophets of both extremes of the social axis, it has carefully adapted the instruments of democracy to the new needs of modern civilization.

And Iceland is a modern civilization. Although the number of persons per square mile is only 2.7 over an area of 40,000 square miles —its entire population is smaller than that of Salt Lake City—Iceland has not been left behind in the era of industrialization and rapid communication and transportation. The people are rapidly discarding their traditional carriages for the mechanized marvels of Detroit, and have long since passed the stage where the use of the telephone is a novelty.

To Iceland, democracy has meant social progress in the fullest sense of the term. Free of the problems of unemployment, crime, and illiteracy, Iceland has directed its efforts toward permanently locking out these unwholesome conditions. Where the rest of the world waited until the depression waters were at full tide before attempting to save itself, Iceland stepped in at the first sign of threatening waves and in 1927 set up a system of poor-relief whose efficiency has been admired by larger nations. Every community in the country has an Old-Age Pension Fund, apparently the model after which the American Social Security Act was patterned. All men and women from 18 to 60 contribute to the fund unless government investigation reveals that the contribution, even though small, may work a hardship upon the family. The pension funds receive a subvention from the State, and grants are made to infirm poor persons over 60 who for the preceding five years have not received poor-relief.

The Icelanders realize they cannot stress education too strongly. Instruction in elementary school is compulsory for five years—the elementary school period being from 10 to 14. Before that age, the children are usually educated at private schools. There are 250 elementary schools, three public high schools, two ladies' schools, a school for elementary school teachers, two schools of agriculture, a school of navigation, a commercial high school, and several other special institutions. Reykjavik, capital of Iceland, has a university. And all in a country of only 120,000 population!

Police forces are among the least of Iceland's worries. Its courts are concerned mainly with civil suits, for the number of criminal cases seldom amount to more than a few a month. Like the United States, Iceland has a Supreme Court (*haestirjettur*) to which appeals from the provincial magistrates (*syslumenn*), and town judges (*bœjarfógetar*) may be made. But Iceland's Supreme Court has only three members.

Although technically a sovereign state, Iceland has a Premier, Cabinet, and Parliament. Under the terms of its present Constitution, which is embodied in the Charter of May 18, 1920, the legislative power of the government rests conjointly with the King of Denmark and the Parliament, which is called *Althing*. The Althing has a Lower and Upper Chamber, with a total of 49 members who are elected for a period of four years. At present, the Progressive Party is in power, with Hermann Jonasson, leader of the party, as Premier, and with a total of 17 members in the Althing. The Party advocates general improvement in agriculture, better popular education, and consumer cooperatives on an extended scale. The strongest opposition to the

Progressives is furnished by the Nationalist Party, which is strong in the Althing, but which does not fill at present any of the positions of Premier, Speaker of the Upper Chamber, or Speaker of the Lower Chamber. The policies of the Nationalist Party are built around its program for strengthening the national spirit, loosening the bonds of connection with Denmark, preserving the independence of the nation, and stabilizing and improving the country's finances. If the Chambers of the Althing fail to agree on a measure, they assemble in a common sitting and the final decision is arrived at by a majority of two-thirds of all the members. Budget bills, however, only require a majority vote.

Iceland's executive power is exercised under the King by his appointed ministry. The ministry is responsible, however, to the people and is subject to impeachment by the Althing. Suffrage is available to members of both sexes over 21 who have lived five years or more in the country.

Rights of citizens in Iceland and Denmark are interchangeable, but citizens of either state are exempt from military service in the other. There is little likelihood, incidentally, of Danish citizens being called to the colors while in Iceland, for Iceland has no army or navy. Neither has it any fortifications. Its permanent neutrality was established under the Act of Union of 1918 and the only semblances of national military organization are the three government fishery protection vessels which patrol the coast.

It is little wonder, then, that Iceland, unburdened by military expenditures, has consistently been able not only to balance its budget but actually to show a favorable balance of revenue over expenditures. Funds which in other countries would be poured into the manufacture of armaments are used to build schools and to encourage science, literature, and art. As a result, the Icelanders, with a strong literary tradition, are becoming increasingly conscious of the divers media of culture.

As a people, Icelanders live simple and sturdy lives. They are divided almost equally between rural districts and the small towns and villages. Agriculture, fishing, and live-stock exporting are the chief industries. This despite the fact that of the total area of Iceland, only one-fourth of one per cent is under cultivation. And the crops are confined almost entirely to hay, potatoes, and turnips.

The people do not, contrary to popular belief, live in igloos, nor do they subsist on Eskimo food. Their homes, whether in country or city, are com-

Swedish-American Line

ICELAND'S CAPITAL: Reykjavik, principal city of Iceland, is growing all the time. With a population of 34,000, Reykjavik has its own amusement centers, banks, and residential districts.

modious and well-constructed. Their style of dress is no different from that of the Scandinavian countries, except, perhaps, that the Icelanders stress simplicity of design even more than their North European neighbors, who are extremely distasteful of fashion frills themselves. As for diet, the people strike a fair balance between vegetables and meat and fish dishes. Cereal is in favor but must be imported, as is the case with salt and other spices. Figuring large among imports, too, is coal—a commodity whose utility in an Iceland winter is widely recognized among the people. But the problem of keeping warm has found another and less expensive solution: hot springs, which abound in great numbers. The people have learned to utilize nature's own kettles in generating heat and electricity.

Iceland's hot springs, moreover, offer the greatest promise for a boom in tourist travel. Their health qualities have been highly praised and the advantages compare favorably with many of the European health resorts. But it will take some time before the rest of the world will be able to revise its unfortunate conception of Iceland as a country which is only a stone's throw from the North Pole and whose land is utterly inhabitable—totally covered, as its name might suggest, with ice.

This is not to say that Iceland is entirely misnamed. It is true that almost three-quarters of the country is barren and its inner tableland and mountains are covered with lava areas and glaciers. But the lower portions of the western shore and the southern shore are generously peopled—in a comparative sense. Reykjavik, located on the southwestern shore, has the largest population—34,000—and is the key city and focal point around which Icelandic affairs revolve. Other population centers are Akureyri, Hafnarfjordur, Vestmannaeyjar, and Isafjordur, with a combined total of 15,000 people.

Perhaps Iceland's biggest surprise to the tourist is its everydayness. Reykjavik has its banks, its amusements, its sidewalk cafes, its shopping streets, and its residential sections. The people are courteous, pleasant, and as a group, very highly educated. They will talk to you—in your own language—about contemporary literature and art and will astound you with their knowledge of your own country's authors and writers. And if the subject has to do with government, education, social philosophy, or economics, you will find them equally well at home.

Talk to the Icelander, in fact, about almost anything. But never make the mistake of starting a conversation by asking whether the people live in ice huts and wear skins. For the Icelander is as far removed from an Eskimo as you or I, and has developed a considerable sensitivity on this point.

HERE AND THERE

ONCE off the beaten tourist track, the old Arabian Nights' city of Baghdad now finds itself within the circle of tours made possible by new roads and modern motor-buses from the port of Beirut of Jaffa.

Modernism has at last reached into Baghdad. Not only are the new motor roads changing the appearance of the city, but they are creating a new life and activity within the ancient oriental city. Tourists are surprised to look at signposts and see such familiar names as New Street and River Street, or cross a bridge called "Maude" carrying camels, donkeys, mules, goats, and sheep.

Spain is not the only country with a Guadalajara. Mexico's city of this name—described as the Dresden of the New World—is famous for an almost perfect climate, and, according to the local travel bureau, beautiful women and "the absence of that insidious form of insanity alluded to as the strenuous life." It is a beautiful city, set 5,000 feet above sea level in an amphitheater of low hills and centered around a plaza lined with orange trees and studded with flower gardens. Half an hour's ride from the city is San Pedro Tlaquepaque where the Guadalajarenos spend their summer vacations—where life is an unhurried round of picnics and parties, twilight promenades and sidewalk chats, moonlight dances and serenades.

Berlin is putting the finishing touches on its preparations for the special celebration of its seven-hundredth birthday this month. A comprehensive exposition called "700 Years of Berlin" will be held in the capital city's exhibition grounds at Kaiserdam. The peak of the festive season will be provided by an historical procession depicting the historical nucleus of Berlin and a festival play with a massed cast to be staged in the Olympic Stadium. Historians believe that Berlin existed in some form or other earlier than 1237, but that date has been decided upon because the city's earliest records go back to that year.

One aspect of the Coronation celebrations receiving comparatively scant attention has been the new streamlined train "Coronation." This crack express covers the 392-mile run between London and Edinburgh in six hours. The average speed makes it the fastest train in the British Empire.

THERE is, of course, no official list of the Seven Wonders of the World. But if you would like to know what are the nominations by

ADMIRAL RICHARD E. BYRD
CARLETON BEALS
RICHARD CURLE
RICHARD HALLIBURTON
MALCOLM LA PRADE
M. E. TRACY

simply turn to the travel section of *Current History* for September.

The World in Books

(*Continued from page 7*)

the accolades that for so long have been denied him. It is only in the last ten years or so—not too long a time when it is considered that he first entered Congress in 1902—that favorable public opinion on a national scale has "discovered" George Norris. One of twelve Senators braving public sentiment to vote against our entry into the World War, Norris, it was thought at the time, had laid his political tombstone. The press of the country had difficulty in finding words harsh enough to condemn him. But Norris survived, fortunately for the country, and his principles along with him. Today, Norris is in the front ranks of living Americans. The authors predict that he may take his place in history along with Clay and Webster and Calhoun.

It is well that the kindly gentleman from Nebraska is ending his career on a popular note. It is fortunate, too, that time has proved him right in the matter of our entry into the World War. For the intransigence of public opinion is such that men and issues are constantly shifting in favor, depending upon the trend of popular sentiment. If Europe were at war today and it were a fight between the democracies and the forces of fascism, there is no question but that our mass sympathies would be strongly on the side of the former. And led into believing, as we were during the World War, that Germany would lead an expedition into the United States, it would take little effort to plunge us into the conflict. Under these circumstances a Norris, if again opposing our entry, would again be called a traitor. For a war is always justified at the time it is declared; those who oppose it are aides of the enemy. It is only in later years when its futility clearly stands out in retrospect that wars become unnecessary; those who opposed it are national heroes. One hopes that future George W. Norrises of our country will not have to wait to be proven national heroes until after the damage is done.

No greater tribute has ever been accorded Senator Norris than that given by President Roosevelt five years ago: "He stands forth as the very perfect, gentle knight of American progressive ideals . . . he has always been thinking of the rights and welfare of the average citizen." Last year, the President called him "one of the major prophets of America."

The authors of *Integrity* have devoted their work almost entirely to a political biography. In this, they have done a commendable job, and are to be thanked for giving America the record of the career of one of its greatest statesmen. The writing is always interesting, but it is to be regretted, perhaps, that there is not more of the environmental forces and influences in Norris' early life which molded his character and which led him to stand for the things he did.

THE romances of old English royalty have provided rich material which recent literature and cinema productions have hardly ignored. Mr. Gore-Brown's *Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots* is the story of one of the most famous romances of them all. The story is told in the form of a biography of James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, about whom historians have seldom been able to agree. Some have pictured him as a madman, opportunist, and murderer. Some have eulogized him as a great patriot. Mr. Gore-Brown's picture, based upon seven years' research in the archives of the sixteenth century, is that of an impetuous, dynamic, and vengeful individualist. He was thoroughly honest but he expected similar honesty in others. Not always finding it, he would take the law into his own hands. As a lover, Bothwell's talents have never been questioned. His love for Mary was the break in the retaining wall whose mad waters cost him his sanity and life.

Mr. Gore-Brown, with the spirit of a pioneer, has given little attention to historical material written after Bothwell's death. Instead, he has placed reliance only upon the material available in the records of Bothwell's contemporaries. The result is that *Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots* bears the stamp of authenticity. It serves a double purpose in that it is not only the biography of a man but of a period.

TWO interesting little volumes treating different phases of a subject now very much in the limelight are *Christianity and Communism*, edited by H. Wilson Harris, and *Africa and Christianity*, by Diedrich Westermann.

The book edited by Mr. Harris consists of a number of essays by prominent thinkers on a comparison and contrast of Christianity and communism. Contributing to the symposium are Dr. Ernest Barker, Dr. W. R. Inge, John Strachey, Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, Dr. Joseph Needham, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, and Rev. F. R. Barry. Mr. Harris prefaces the book with the observation that there is a rivalry in England between Christianity as a faith and communism as a creed. He believes that it is impossible to regard both doctrines as fundamentally and irreconcilably opposed. "The one distinctive tenet of communism

—from each according to his ability to each according to his needs'—is as essentially Christian as 'give to everyone that asketh.'" The way to meet the challenge of communism, he contends, is not to deny that such a challenge exists, but to "face it and meet it."

And Christianity can, if it wills, beat off that challenge by giving the world more than communism can ever hope to. If the Church is to rally the younger generation and win back those who have pursued the goals of life under communism, it must, asserts Mr. Harris, have a gospel to preach that touches life, and "is seen to touch it."

The contributors to the symposium who admit the existence of some common ground between Christianity and communism are Dr. Baker, Dr. Joseph Needham, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, and Canon Barry. Communism is viewed by Dr. Inge as a deadly enemy since it is a movement based on hatred, and on the negation of all spiritual values. Father D'Arcy, writing in the same vein, can see no compromise with the ideals in back of the movement.

All in all, the symposium is one of the most stimulating and thought-provoking books that has been published in many months.

Despite any or all challenges, Christianity advances throughout the world. Diedrich Westermann, in *Africa and Christianity*, writes of the steady progress of missionary work on the Dark Continent. The Church in Africa, he says, is being built upon solid ground. The native is easily persuaded to adopt a new faith because in his own religion he has less to lose than people adhering to a higher religion. Moreover, Christianity offers him the much-desired membership in a higher social class.

There are few portions of Africa in which Christianity has not come to exercise a definite influence over the social and moral life of the people. But the nature of the native requires that he be given a long religious education and careful, constant attention and guidance before he can stand on his own feet. It is in this sphere that the missionaries are now doing extensive work. The author believes that as the result of their efforts, the Church has grown to become "one of the powers destined to reshape African life." Other important influences are science, medicine, and modern industrialization.

Mr. Westermann is particularly well-qualified to discuss the subject. He is director of the International Institute of African languages and professor of African languages at the University of Berlin. The material for *Africa and Christianity* is based upon the Duff Lecture series, which he gave two years ago.

Northfield, Massachusetts, and its people are the subjects of *A Puritan Outpost*, an engaging and charming story of a New England town by Herbert Collins Parsons. The author has traced their joint development all the way back to 1700. Northfield was the "outpost" of Puritan pioneering in the seventeenth century and lived the typical life of an outpost community, repulsing recurrent Indian invasions and attacks from land-seeking foreign groups. Against this background of pioneer civilization Northfield carved its history. It is a history that tells of the wars of the eighteenth century, the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War. The story is brought up to the present with the account of the spring floods of 1936.

There is a warm and mellow quality to Mr. Parsons' narrative that is easier to perceive than to describe. It is the same soft glow that fills one after lingering over a family photograph album. Herbert Parsons walks through the town today and muses over the many changes which have taken place in his own lifetime—75 years. The changes have not so much been in the physical appearance of the town but in the people. "The broad street is shaded by the same elms, arching over its traveled way. . . . The houses are familiar, less austere through the sometimes doubtful adornment of piazzas. . . . It is in their occupants that the returning visitor is interested." The James house, two centuries old, still stands, and the "cottage from which Uncle Mark Woodard used to start his walk upstreet to the post office, followed by his dutifully trained pig, is now the property of Charles F. Slate, the pre-Roosevelt postmaster. . . ."

The changes in population signify the transformation, he says, which has come about through the disappearance of old families and the replacement by others. A number of the town's "old families" have simmered out during the last 70 years, their places to be taken by people "of the same sort and with the same thrift and pride in their homes."

This Fuss About Syphilis

Current HISTORY

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Labor in America

by Herbert Harris

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N. B. Cousins
Literary Editor

The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Life and Death of a Spanish Town	Elliot Paul	Random House	$2.50
The Siege of Alcazar	Geoffrey McNeill-Moss	Knopf	$3.50
Single to Spain	Keith Scott Watson	Dutton	$2.00
Europe in Arms	Liddel Hart	Random House	$2.50
Ordeal in England	Philip Gibbs	Doubleday, Doran	$3.00
The Daily Newspaper in America	Alfred M. Lee	Macmillan	$4.75
The Press and World Affairs	Robert W. Desmond	Appleton-Century	$4.00
A Social and Religious History of the Jews	Salo W. Baron	Columbia Univ. Press	
		Vol. I & II (each)	$3.75
		Vol. III	$4.00
World Finance, 1935-1937	Paul Einzig	Macmillan	$3.00

THE *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* will serve as a long-overdue awakening for those of us who still cling to the belief that only soldiers are killed during war and that most of the fighting is done at the front. Elliot Paul, the author, will tell you about war horrors that fell out of nowhere upon a peaceful town and a peaceful people. He will tell you about a community far from the trenches whose life was crushed out. Crushed out as completely as a tiny flower under an avalanche of rock.

A year and a half ago there was soft music in Santa Eulalia, a little town within walking distance of Ibiza (or Iviza) on an island off the Spanish mainland. It was evening and the men of the village sat long hours in front of the cafés near the water and drank and talked and laughed and sometimes sang to the music. Life was pleasant, for there was peace. And work. For those who could not work, nature furnished food.

Santa Eulalia was not much unlike the average small American village of about a hundred or more people. The homes were modest but sturdy. The tempo of life was even, unhurried. People were friendly; there were the usual petty rivalries but no more so than in any large family. The good fortune of the humblest citizen was occasion for joy everywhere. Sorrow or tragedy to any member was shared by all; when a townsman died his loss would be mourned for weeks.

It was in these surroundings that Elliot Paul came with his wife to live in 1931. He had been in France as an American doughboy and after the war had become a newspaper correspondent, later joining the Paris *Herald.* But his talent had extended beyond the newspaper story; he was the author of a number of fine novels. Paul came to know and therefore to love the people and town of Santa Eulalia. He knew their "means and aspirations, their politics and philosophy, their ways of life, their ties of blood, their friendships, their deep-seated hatreds and inconsequential animosities. I loved them and their animals and the shadows of the trees that fell upon their houses."

Troubles on the mainland ruffled only slightly the seemingly-eternal calm of the island. Uprisings and even rebellions and minor revolutions—of which there were many in Spain during the decade prior to the Civil War—failed to stir the citizens of Santa Eulalia into anything more than conversation. And even if they should decide to do something it was usually too late, for news was slow in coming to the town. There were no

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radios and the people walked down to the docks at nearby Ibiza to greet the ships that brought in mail and newspapers.

It was in this remoteness that the people found a certain security and an even stronger community of interests among themselves that might ordinarily prevail in a town of its size. And even when General Francisco Franco gave the order that was destined to injure, if not utterly destroy, one of the world's oldest cultures, the people of Santa Eulalia were apprehensive, but not worried or seriously disturbed. The uprising would be a one-week or a one-month affair at most, regardless of which side would be the victor. There were only a handful of strong fascist sympathizers and about an equal number of leftists.

But the days wore on and still no news from the mainland telling of the end of the revolution. Then one day something happened that startled and shocked everyone. An airplane, growing from out of a speck in the distant sky, swooped low over the streets of Santa Eulalia, the roar of its motors shattering the air with terrifying reality. But it dropped no bombs and after landing for a moment in the harbor continued on its way. The people huddled in terror. What if it, or another plane, should return and this time disgorge death from its vitals? They realized then that their thought of security was an illusion.

And it was. The little town of Santa Eulalia was sucked into the war—by now no mere temporary uprising but a war of ghastly proportions. Invasion, not by one force, but by fascists, loyalists, and anarchists, swept across the face of the island. The towns became death-traps; the only avenue of escape was by sea, but where could one get a boat and if one could, would the boat get through?

Elliot Paul and a small group of friends, as an American party, were able to capitalize upon the international prestige of the Stars and Stripes and were taken off the island by a German destroyer. But that was after fascist planes on September 13 had bombed nearby Ibiza, killing 55 Ibicencos, almost all of whom were women or children. Up to that date, Paul had refused all efforts by American officials to have him leave Santa Eulalia. But then came the bombings; Paul walked through Ibiza, he walked "alone through the old Roman gates to the walled city and through narrow slits of street and up stairways to the fortress . . . too numb to be saddened or horrified, faint from the unspeakable smell, alone in the ancient town the sight of which had always raised such thankful emotion in my heart. . . . What I found in that formerly most beautiful and prosperous and hospitable city is too bleak for words to convey."

The day after Paul left the island, Italian and rebel troops set up a fascist administration. Four hundred loyalists, including most of the characters described in Paul's book, were lined up and shot. With their deaths, the little town of Santa Eulalia also died; Paul speaks of the life and death of Santa Eulalia in the sense of the lives and deaths of its people. Yet:—"You are not all dead, my former comrades. There are dawns in unending series to come, and the rising moon will lift the identical shape of Ibiza from the darkened sea. . . ."

Yes, Elliot Paul can write. For sheer literary flavor, *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* has not even been approached by any other non-fiction work this year. And for the importance of the story alone, the book warrants the highest of ratings. The combination should establish *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* among the literary events of 1937.

Two other works drawing their themes from the Civil War in Spain are *The Siege of the Alcazar* by Major Geoffrey McNeill-Moss and *Single to Spain* by Keith Scott Watson. Both books are written from the position of observers whose sincere intentions were to report conditions as they saw them, and not to espouse one cause nor condemn the other. Yet each of them leaves no question in the mind of the reader as to its sympathies: *The Siege of the Alcazar* is written in and of the spirit of the rebel defenders of the castle, while *Single to Spain* is nothing if not pro-loyalist.

The sympathies and prejudices of Americans toward the Spanish conflict have taken definite shape by this time and it is unlikely that they will be altered to any extent for the duration of the war. Those who were horrified by the destruction of Guernica and similar fascist atroci-

ties, for which there are few parallels in history, may have some reluctance in turning to *The Siege of Alcazar*, in view of Major McNeill-Moss' between-the-line bias in favor of the rebels. But it would be unfair to the author and to his book to overlook the essential importance of his work: the story of a heroic defense in the face of starvation and bombardment.

Divorcing events from causes, then, we turn to *The Siege of the Alcazar* and with more than passing admiration for the defenders, read of the 73 days of black hell through which they passed. The attack took on the dimensions of a siege along toward the end of July, 1936. In the castle were approximately 1700 men, women, and children, of whom approximately 1000 were combatants. Arms, consisting of rifles, machine-guns, and ammunition, were plentiful but of little use against attack by artillery and bombing planes. The stores of food were sufficient for a week or two. The water supply was adequate, although of poor quality. But of courage and spirit and faith, the defenders were rich. They were filled with a oneness of purpose that carried them on where laws of physical endurance would not.

August 5—two weeks after the first air bomb had been dropped—the defenders took stock of their forces and their stores. Twelve were killed. 65 wounded. The munitions had hardly been used, but the normal foodstuffs were exhausted. "There had been no more meat; they had eaten horse-flesh and mule-flesh. There had been no more bread; they had eaten baked wheat instead. . . . No coffee, no rice, no salt." The lack of salt proved a great hardship. Some of the defenders, in an effort to lend a little taste to tasteless food, tried using crushed plaster from the walls. But that produced thirst and the water was none too good. The greatest privation suffered by the men was the lack of tobacco; they tried ground-up bark, dried grass, leaves, even stable bedding.

Two weeks later, when the defenders began to grow weak from lack of food, a nationalist plane, braving numerous anti-aircraft guns of the loyalists, flew low over the Alcazar and dropped a large trunk containing tins of food and packets of sweets and chocolates. Their spirits bolstered, the defenders took to their guns and succeeded in closing an enemy position.

The siege continued without abatement through the remaining days of August and the first few weeks of September. During bombardments, the women and children would stay below in the vaults—dark, damp, stinking cellars that drew all human color from their faces and gave them a sickly-green appearance. Many times, the

vibration of the underground drilling by loyalist dynamite-mine crews could be felt as sharply as if the enemy were only a few feet away. Explosion threatened every minute. The strain in the Alcazar became indescribable.

The dynamite mining of the Alcazar was no secret. The defenders had been asked to send out the women and children. The women and children refused. The time of the blasting was announced. News-reel photographers set up their tripods. Then:

"An immense volume of stones and smoke spurted straight into the sky. The fragments raced aloft; huge blocks, large lumps, stones, long things which might have been beams or girders. . . . The pall of smoke rolled on, spreading outwards. . . ."

What of the defenders?

By some miracle, the dynamiting and the furious fighting that followed when the enemy attempted to storm the garrison, had taken only 18 lives and had wounded 62. That was on September 18. For the next week, the survivors were subjected to the fiercest attacks of the siege. The large holes in the Alcazar, burst open by dynamiting, shellings, and bombings, were repeatedly stormed by loyalists. Somehow they were repulsed. All that remained of the Alcazar was the great Herra façade of the South.

Relief came on September 27. Rebel forces smashed through to free the defenders of the Alcazar. Men, women, and children stumbled out of the ruins. They were on the brink of starvation. Their bodies were spare and drawn. But not a single woman or child had been killed during the months of the siege.

Major McNeill-Moss' story has lost none of the drama in the telling. As a soldier and an Englishman, he has set down the day-by-day record with true military orderliness, but the writing is all the more virile for its lack of emotion and overstatement. His book is based upon personal observations, the records of military authorities in Toledo and Franco's staff, a diary kept by an officer of the garrison, and a series of letters written by an officer of the Alcazar to a friend. The author candidly admits that he had little or no material from the loyalist side: "Very many of the besiegers must by now be dead; in a year's time there will be still fewer of them left alive. They were in revolt against tradition, they despised established methods, so it is doubtful whether they kept records. If they did, it is unlikely that any will have survived. . . . They were brave; they squandered their lives in vain assaults: they failed. Good luck to him who writes a book for them!"

Major McNeill-Moss might have said, instead: "Good luck to Keith Scott Watson!" For Mr. Watson has done precisely that. In *Single to Spain* he has written a book about the loyalists in almost direct answer. Like Mr. McNeill-Moss, Mr. Watson is an Englishman who became interested in the Spanish conflict. But Mr. Watson's interest was not limited to a non-participant's role. He went to Spain as a newspaper correspondent but found it hard to stay at his typewriter when there were guns to be manned against the fascist threat of Franco. His decision brought him into the front-line trenches with the International Column defending Madrid. There, all thought of romance in war disappeared: "No romantic is so hot-blooded that he can survive the damp chill of a night in a dugout."

Watson's company was comprised mostly of Englishmen. There were Jeans, Joe, Messer, Cox, Jock, Jerry, Adley, Scott, Birch, and about six or seven more. The company remained intact through several severe battles, with the exception of the author, who returned to journalism after honestly admitting that he "was afraid," and couldn't "stand life in the trenches."

The entire company was wiped out one day at Boadilla after an unaccountable mix-up in orders. Moors and Germans were advancing upon the town in large numbers and the order for retreat—there were only a handful of soldiers defending the village—was given. But somehow the order was countermanded and before the column could discover why or how, the fascist forces had them surrounded. "Jeans slumped down; bubbles oozed from a hole between his eyes. . . . Ray Cox tumbled forward, a bullet in his thigh. 'Get on, I'm done.' . . . Jock was the next, blood spurted from his neck. . . . Joe gave a little cough, he crumpled, a bullet in his heart. 'Best o' luv to muvver.' The steel whip that screamed over Messer killed two more of the English; Harry Adley and Bill Scott. . . ."

There was the usual roll-call that night but name after name went unanswered.

Why did they do it? Adventure? Romance? Glory? Very little of that. One of them hated fascism "instinctively." Another was motivated by intellectual appreciation of the people's fight to defend their culture. Another hated oppression and could always be found on the side of the underdog. It is likely that these three reasons were behind the enlistment of many other members of the International Brigade.

Single to Spain was not written, it is apparent, in the thought of being anything more than a personal account of experiences at and behind

(Continued on page 108)

Dear Mr. Literary Editor—

Up to now, I've kept my peeve to myself. But when you passed up Kenneth Roberts' "Northwest Passage," I decided to find out why you haven't reviewed any of the recent first-rate novels.

I can think of at least a dozen top-notch authors—J. P. Marquand, Vaughn Wilkins, James Hilton, Virginia Wolff, E. M. Delafield among them— who have had books this year but who have been over-looked by your literary section, "The World Today in Books."

Don't you think they rate?

Sincerely,

Mrs. E. K.

Our reply to Mrs. E. K. and a statement of policy:

WE HAVE very high opinions of the novelists you mention. The fact that we have not reviewed their books by no means reflects upon their merit. CURRENT HISTORY just doesn't review fiction—that's all.

About a year ago we decided to find out what CURRENT HISTORY readers liked in the way of books. Our survey showed that the average CURRENT HISTORY reader was not very interested in novels. He had a keen mind and an insatiable appetite for information. He liked books on world affairs, biography, science, travel. He liked to be *in the know.*

From that point on, CURRENT HISTORY'S book section has been devoted exclusively to non-fiction. Each month, a dozen or more of the outstanding serious books of the day are chosen for review. At the present time, *The World Today in Books* is the largest entirely non-fiction section appearing in any popular monthly magazine in the country.

CURRENT HISTORY

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Only five cities in the United States have populations exceeding the number of security holders and employees of the Bell System. There is one security holder for every 165 people in this country.

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CURRENT HISTORY

SEPTEMBER 1937

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

Splitting the Democratic Party

DEMOCRATS have been notorious for their internecine wars. Given a majority in a national legislature, it is axiomatic that the Democrats will sooner or later split into two major categories. Many reasons have been given for this seeming inability to work cohesively, to maintain a harmonious majority throughout a legislative period. At various times Democratic disaffection has been laid to everything from temperament to subnormal mentality. But rarely is the most obvious reason given proper prominence: that the Democratic party in national affairs is primarily a reform party. Whether Cleveland, Wilson, or Roosevelt, the citizens have appealed to them to clean up a political situation become intolerable in the hands of the Republicans.

Roosevelt was swept into office under oath to reform the existing political and economic structure. With him went the members of his party Senators, Congressmen, Governors and State legislators; each one in turn pledged to the major party premise—reform. But on the eve of election these diverse individuals, anxious only to eat political pork after years of starvation, had no time to consult their backgrounds, their affiliations, their predilections, to determine whether or not they were fitted for the reform to which they so blithely committed themselves.

Examined objectively very few of these gentlemen were in a position to subscribe sincerely to the most hollow economic reform. And yet for four years they did subscribe. Emotionalism bred in an atmosphere of emergency and duress inspired their support. And the personality of President Roosevelt insured it. Even the Southern Senators, in some ways more economically royal than Wall Street brokers, found it in their character to crusade with militant liberals from the Midwest. But these things must end: for the dollar marks its men more indelibly than consanguinity or reform.

Four-Year Vacation

The 1936 election was easy. Congress convened anticipating a quick session. Individual members had seen the economic tide turning, the depression waning, and prosperity waxing. In fact boom-times were practically here if (and this was an important "if") the Federal Government would keep its hands off; and that crazy man Roosevelt would take himself and his pop-eyed economic reformation off on a nice four-year vacation. This was the illusion: and in it many Senators had been abetted by their constituents.

NEA

NOT EXACTLY ENCOURAGING

The introduction of the court bill by President Roosevelt shocked and mortified them. Its effect was even more far reaching; it offered the disgruntled Senate majority a golden opportunity to break ranks. Throughout the first weeks of demoralized bickering the shuffling and reshuffling of Senators was as baffling to themselves as it was to their constituents. From the West, Senators Wheeler, Burke, Clark, King, McCarran, and O'Mahoney jumped into the first ditch to battle against the bill, along with the Southern Senators Connally, Bailey, Glass, Byrd, and George. Thus the disaffection began. Democrats lined up against Democrats; and the Republican minority in the Senate worked behind the scenes widening the breach between the party members.

Simple Strategy

Though none would admit it, and though few even dared breathe it, the strategy of battle was so simple as to appear vicious in its broader aspects. Reactionary Senators, whether Democratic or Republican, are alike both above and under the skin. And the [illegible] sought by all reactionaries was and still is to throttle the Administration program of reform. In the court bill these men found the garrot with which to do the job. And they were not alone. Liberals and other sincere political dabblers who objected to the bill on principle rushed to their assistance.

By late Spring it was clear to all that the attack on the court bill was a thinly disguised attack upon the New Deal both from without and within the ranks of the Democratic party.

But what baffled many observers were the contributory causes for this sudden and united front against Roosevelt. It was impossible to credit the court bill with being the sole reason. And it wasn't. Behind the vitriol of the Senate Judiciary Committee's report (a report signed by a majority of Democratic Senators) was the agony of four years labor in the ranks of reform. These Senators had supported measures that in their hearts they hated. They had, for the sake of their political necks, cheered a New Deal which they privately described as a "Raw Deal." And worst of all they had performed these unnatural feats in the shadow of a personality dwarfing them to the stature of midgets. Last of all they had endured the spectacle of John L. Lewis welding the forces of labor under the benevolent eyes of a pro-labor Administration. And they were part of that Administration. Considering those things, is it any wonder their fury, during the court controversy, was marvelous to behold?

Double Dealing

However one thing remained that, in retrospect, amusingly revealed the true soul of the professional politician. To the late Senator Joe Robinson, New Deal wheel horse in the chamber, 51 Senators pledged their word they would vote in favor of the Logan-Hatch Supreme Court substitute proposal in the event of a show-down. Thus at the very moment many of these 51 were bellowing to the world that rather than corrupt the Supreme Court they would let the foxes eat out their hearts and [illegible]

buzzards pluck out their eyes these gentlemen were secretly sworn to uphold the Administration bill. Under the circumstances it was natural that with the death of Joe Robinson these Democrats went to the knife. They stabbed Roosevelt by pretending their pledges to Robinson were the gestures of friendship and respect to the Southerner and not to the President. It was amid this welter of hate and political stilettos that the court bill was killed.

Party Split

As soon as the vote was counted, editorial writers the nation over chronicled the fact that the Democratic Party had split; and that the New Deal program was demoralized. They saw in the line-up against the court bill the future evaporation of a party that in 1936 had been hailed as the most powerful in our political history. They predicted that by 1940 the conservative elements of the Democratic party would quit the New Deal and its "Rooseveltism" forever. They envisaged Roosevelt, an outcast from his party, making a furious if futile bid for a third term as the leader of a farmer-labor coalition. And they even

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

REVOLT

hinted hopefully at a fusion of progressive Republicans and conservative Democrats. In fact they consider every possibility but the most obvious ones—that Roosevelt, in his fight to reform the court, enjoyed the support of the voters who put him in office. For this oversight the editors and publishers are blameless. They came out of the 1936 election severely shell-shocked and are still convalescent.

Officially President Roosevelt and his partisans will admit no real split has occurred within the party. That there has been a serious disaffection among the old guard Democratic ranks is to them so obvious as to need no comment. But the President sees it as a temporary irritant. In his opinion, these reactionary elements will be progressively sloughed off at the ballot box by voters conversant with the peculiar way in which their representatives redeemed the New Deal pledges. Furthermore, the President will probably make himself personally responsible that every State organization knows exactly the quantity and quality of each nominee's disaffection from the New Deal. For the President is sure that the country is with him in all his major plans of reform and construction.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE CHICAGO POLICE PERFORM AN ANCIENT CEREMONY

Chamber of Commerce Report on Strikes

IF, AS some critics maintain, the workers have done nothing else, they have broken all records for strikes within any comparable period in the history of American industry. During the first half of 1937, according to the Chamber of Commerce of New York State, 2,512 strikes were started, compared with 1,077 in the first half of 1936, and 2,048 in the same period of 1917, the record year so far. Computing the number of man-days of work lost it is revealed that during the first half of this year workers were idle 17,934,496 man-days, or more than during the entire year 1936; while 987,644 workers struck their jobs in the first five months of this year and also exceeded the total 1936 record.

United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
THE REAL TARGET

So run the statistics—interesting but meaningless. Of more importance are the reasons to which the Chamber of Commerce attributes this strike-wave:

"First, to the fact that recovery from the depression is assuming more substantial proportions.

"Second, to the enactment by Congress of legislation giving labor new authority and power, notably the National Labor Relations Act.

"Third, to the intensive unionization activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which was formed in November, 1935, and has attained formidable size and force in the enrollment of unskilled workers through capitalizing "the pronounced labor leanings of the Administration.

"Fourth, to the insistence of labor that the nation's unemployment problem can be most quickly and effectively solved by industry instituting a shorter work-week with no wage reduction."

Democratic Opposition to Reform

AMONG the Senators who broke the Democratic majority ranks there is not one that doesn't believe himself marked for slaughter. Despite Postmaster General Farley's assurance of no reprisals they are on tenterhooks. In addition, the Administration, following the defeat of the court bill, has turned a deaf ear to their agonized cries for adjournment. The Senators have complained of the heat in their air-cooled chamber, and of fatigue from their prolonged sit-down strike. In fact they have pleaded everything but the truth. For the Senators wanted above all things to dodge, for this session, at least, the Roosevelt program. In the bills earmarked for action they saw issues destined to unearth the very roots of the traditional opposition to reform.

Wages and Hours

Perhaps, as no other measure, the Wages and Hours Bill corralled and earmarked for the edification of the general public is the real solidity of the Southern Senate bloc. In the terms of the measure were

practical economic factors that touched the South at its sorest point—industrialization. For decades the Dixie orators had predicted the coming of industry. And now with Northern industrialists fleeing unionism and high wages the South had come into its own. It offered besides proximity to some raw materials and cheap power, a plentiful supply of cheap, docile, and unorganized labor.

In the Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill the Southern Senators and Representatives saw a sinister attempt to stop the industrial progress of the South by doing away with the competitive wage differential enjoyed by slave labor.

Crop Subsidy and Control

And if this bill were not enough, the Administration informed the anxious delegates from the South as well as from the West that crop subsidy would not be sanctioned without the necessary corollary of New Deal crop control. A divided Supreme Court in the AAA decision wrecked Federal crop control, although the basic reasoning of that case was reversed after the President's court bill was submitted to the legislators.

Those who are still baffled by the President's Federal policy structure may find in the succession of these items an intelligible continuity explaining in some measure the urgency with which the President pushed the court reform bill. With the defeat of the AAA and its farm commodity control by so close a vote as 5 to 4, the President saw his program wrecked and his future plans jeopardized if left in the hands of a court unable to delineate its position. Quite naturally even the dullest strategist would seek remedial measures. This the President did with the court bill, which was so overwhelmingly defeated.

The resulting situation is tragically amusing. In the court bill issue the President had expected the support of those Senators and Representatives from the West and South whose constituents are most vitally interested in Federal crop loans. Since the record shows that he did not get that support, the President logically asks just how and why he should continue to loan the public's money without security. Thus in this vital matter the President holds the whip hand over the conservative Senators and Representatives from the South and West who have been balking his program.

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HATCHING SOMETHING

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"I THOUGHT HE WANTED TO SEE ME."

Japan Advances in North China

HOPEH and Chahar are destined to go the way of Manchuria. The East Hopeh Autonomous Regime and the semi-autonomous Hopeh-Chahar Political Council have been instruments unsatisfactory to Tokyo. In fact, under them the Japanese position in North China seemed to be deteriorating. Since the Sian coup of last December, marked resistance had developed to the Japanese imperialist adventure. The Nanking Government had begun to assert authority over North China officials; steps had been taken to stop the Japanese-protected smuggling through East Hopeh, with its disastrous effects upon Nanking revenues; the suspension of the Tientsin-Tokyo airline, undertaken without Chinese consent, was ordered; a small rebellion of Manchukuoan and Mongolian troops against Japanese domination had taken place, and anti-Japanese incidents were numerous as Chinese nationalism surged.

Japanese Compulsives

Japan has clearly decided to put an end to what she considers impudent affronts to her self-appointed mission to "protect" North China—not to mention her avowed ambition to dominate the Asiatic mainland. Spurring on her drive into North China, too, are nationalistic and economic compulsives. To turn back would be to "lose face" —worse than death. Then there is the pressure of population, increasing at the rate of one million souls a year; Manchukuo has provided a most unsatisfactory outlet. Manchukuo has sopped up some fourteen hundred million yen of Japanese capital since 1931 and has promised but a meager return. Hence the cotton and coal resources of the North Chinese provinces are particularly appealing. Turning to the question of political strategy, Hopeh and Chahar are sought as valuable buffers against the Soviet Union.

With all these impelling factors, Japan has been making the old demands of China —the settlement of the conflict on a local basis, the suppression of anti-Japanese activities, and the acceptance of an alliance against Communism (the Chinese Communists being more anti-Japanese than anticapitalist). These demands, varied in detail according to the exigencies of any given situation, have one permanent aspect—the acceptance by China of Japanese overlordship without hindrance or interference from Nanking.

Il 420, Florence

THE PHILANTHROPIST

Eden: "In the name of Humanity put an end to this fraternal warfare, save the women and children and give us back the iron mines of Biscaglia!"

China's Case

Similarly, China offers the invariable answer: she will resist Japan to the uttermost. Nanking can indeed say little else. The number of small anti-Japanese incidents—as for instance the killing of Japanese naval officers at a Shanghai airdrome on August 8—are a spontaneous evidence of the depth of Chinese feeling. Negotiations are under way between the Nanking Government and the Chinese Communists; the latter are willing to place their armies under the control of Nanking and to modify their social policies if Chiang Kai-shek will adopt an anti-Japanese policy and liberalize his régime somewhat. Finally, by supreme patience and horse-dealing, Chiang Kai-shek

Hell's Angel

Le Rire, Paris

has achieved a greater degree of unity in China than has existed since the Manchus.

But, on the other hand, the Chinese dictator is aware that his own rearmament program is not yet complete; China is much better prepared than she was a year ago, but she is not yet ready for a full-fledged war. If popular opinion urges Chiang Kai-shek to war and threatens his political career should he refuse, he is aware that an outright conflict with Japan at this stage would have equally if not more disastrous consequences for his future.

It is therefore significant that only about 50,000 Chinese troops have been on their way north, instead of 100–200,000 which might have been summoned for the defense of North China. The better part of valor for Chiang Kai-shek—and the plan which he would seem to favor—would be a face-saving compromise, satisfying Japanese demands in North China and delaying final resistance until China is fully prepared and the Japanese have to fight on a more extended frontier farther from the source of their reinforcements and supplies.

Check upon Japan

The real check upon Japan in North China will come, not from China, nor from the Western powers, but from within Japan. Trade has suffered badly during 1937, and the adverse trade balance for the first seven months of the year amounted to the record figure of 720,000,000 yen (approximately $250,000,000). The gold supply, estimated at $470,000,000 last March, has been depleted by some $130,000,000 since then, and it is expected that another $130,000,000 will have to be shipped abroad to make up the trade deficit. Some 527,000,000 yen have already been appropriated for the cost of the North China operations; this will bring the present budget up to 3,400,000,000 yen, 50 per cent above last year's figure, and promises a four billion yen budget for 1938–9 three times the 1931–2 figure. An already burdensome public debt will have to accept a 12 per cent increment, as further taxes threaten to be intolerable. Low wages and higher living costs make militarism even less palatable than before to the Japa-

nese masses, while Japanese capitalists, who found the promised boons of Manchukuo a snare and a delusion, wonder what return there can be from a further imperialistic adventure.

In the meantime, the poverty-stricken North Chinese masses know that they will get gypped in any case and probably care little whether Chinese or Japanese do the exploiting.

One Year of the Spanish War

THE end of the first year of the Spanish civil war saw the conflict far from a conclusive finish and the outcome still dependent—as it has been for many months—upon the extent of intervention, especially on behalf of the rebels.

General Franco has won notable victories at Toledo and Malaga in the South and San Sebastian in the North. But in modern warfare the advantage rests with the defense; and the loyalist troops have so far won the most important battle of the war in their grim defense of Madrid, which still remains the key city.

At present both armies are operating on extended fronts, with the result that sporadic attacks against thinly held positions are generally successful but have little significance to contribute to the whole military situation. Two important offensives are, however, under way. The first, the heaviest salient yet launched by the Government, is the drive towards Navalcarnero on the Talavera highway; success in this venture would enable the loyalists to isolate the rebels in University City and around Madrid and lift the siege of the capital. Franco's seizure of Brunete, however, was a dampener to loyalist enthusiasm. At the same time, the rebels have launched a series of attacks in an attempt to cut off Madrid from Valencia. Neither of these salients promise marked success: a complete victory for either one would, nevertheless, have a very important bearing upon the outcome of the war.

Daily Herald, London

GARDEN OF EDEN OR TEMPTING THE SERPENT

On the Diplomatic Front

On the diplomatic front, the rebels have gained enormously during the war. This has been chiefly due to the strengthening of the Italian and, to a less extent, German position in the Mediterranean. Italy has been able to consolidate her previous bases and now enjoys an unwarranted but actual occupation of Mallorca; German guns on the Spanish and African coasts are reported to dominate Gibraltar. (One reason, incidentally, for England's apparent lack of concern over this latter threat is that the Straits of Gibraltar are very often enveloped in fog, which would enable British ships to slip through.) The rebels diplomatic position has also been strengthened by the possession of districts where British commercial interests are substantial. For instance, on July 19, General Franco signed an agreement under which the bulk of the iron ore from the Basque Country will be exported to Germany.

Consequently, after one year of war, the rebels and their polyglot hordes have advanced from the position of being the manufacturers of a revolution against a legally and democratically constituted government

to that of an international power with several diplomatic aces up its sleeve. And this advance has been achieved largely at the expense of Great Britain, whose strategic situation has deteriorated correspondingly.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Great Britain, in an effort to reach a new compromise over the non-intervention farce, willing to grant belligerent rights to the insurgents and suspend the naval patrol. The conditions demanded in return for these favors would be the withdrawal of all foreign "volunteers" now fighting in Spain, the posting of neutral observers at Spanish ports, and possibly the stationing of observers at Spanish airdromes. Whatever agreements the rebels will make in return—or whatever the worth of those agreements—it seems probable that they will receive belligerent status before the summer is out, a fact which will enable them to blockade the Barcelona and Valencia coasts.

St Louis Post-Dispatch

PIECE BY PIECE

Vatican Recognition

Further diplomatic recognition for the rebels was foreshadowed by the announcement on August 4 that they were to be granted representation at the Vatican. That the Roman Catholic Church should continue its support of the rebels is not unexpected; its reasons for favoring them in the initial place are more obscure. Before the conflict the Spanish Popular Front attacked the temporal and political, and not the spiritual, power of the Church. But whatever the merits of the domestic issue, it is difficult to understand why the Church has given its sanction to a conspiracy of imperialistic aggression, carried out for motives far from religious, with a brutality far from Christian, and by people who are just as likely to turn on the Church as not. If the answer is that control of Spain by Moscow was the alternative, events show that the civil war, initiated by the fascists, has brought that eventuality far nearer to realization than any other possible circumstances.

Britain Looks to Italy

PRIME Minister Neville Chamberlain's "friendly note," written to Mussolini on July 31, and the Duce's favorable reply constitute the first fruits of the latest trend in British foreign policy.

The extent of Mr. Chamberlain's friendliness, coming after two years of Anglo-Italian tension, was not disclosed, as the contents of his letter remained a state secret. But it has been regarded as an overture to the British recognition of the Italian régime in Ethiopia as the price of Italian amity.

There were two reasons for this rapprochement. In the first place, Britain is vitally interested in preserving her Mediterranean route to the East; Iraq oil, Egyptian cotton, and the India trade are at stake. But Italian bases threaten and Italian lifelines intersect this route at nearly every vital point—particularly since the Ethiopian and Spanish wars. Without Italian friendship the British route is now hazardous, if not useless; Italian cooperation is essential to its safety.

St Louis Post-Dispatch

LATEST BRITISH ROMANCE

Splitting the Rome-Berlin Axis

Secondly, it is Mr. Chamberlain's ambition to weaken the Rome-Berlin axis, which has so weakened the British strategic position on the continent. He prefers not to do this by lending strength to the Franco-Soviet alliance; considerations of the continental balance of power urge a weakening rather than a strengthening of either side and, in any case, he does not wish to work in harness with Soviet Russia, particularly after the execution of the eight generals. Hence his strategy is to attack the Rome-Berlin axis by attempting to wean Italy away from it.

There are standing differences between Germany and Italy—in Austria and the Danubian countries, to name the outstanding ones. According to Augur in *The New York Times*, the British Government had received proof that Italy was not certain of German support in the event of British attack. The time seemed propitious for an attempt to break up the axis, starting at the Rome end.

German Joy

Germany, however, supposedly cast as the jilted partner in the fascist alliance, has greeted the Anglo-Italian conversations jubilantly. They are, she says, a victory for the Hitler thesis of the superiority of bilateral pacts over all methods smacking of the principle of collective security. Secondly, she firmly believes that the Rome-Berlin axis has proved itself to be soundly based upon mutual strategic interests; she sees the Anglo-Italian negotiations as a sign that Britain is willing to do business with the fascists and not as an indication of the departure of Italy from her German love. Thirdly, it appears probable that the final outcome of the present discussions may well be another four-power pact—between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. This would isolate Russia and leave Germany free to pursue her own ambitions in the East—a type of British foreign policy Hitler has long been playing for.

The Germans have good reasons for their pleasure!

In Memoriam
H. Parker Willis

COURT AND PRESS

The nation's press flays the court bill; but it also supported Governor Landon

By THE EDITORS

THE Court Bill is dead. As dead, perhaps, as a Mississippi editor would have it. "Dead," said he, "as a salt mackerel shining beneath the pale moonlight." And then as if to make doubly sure he added: "As dead as the ashes of Moses, world's first law giver."

Since it is dead, it is time to know who killed it. Whether it was slain in fair combat, overwhelmed and slaughtered in the field, or assassinated down some dark corridor.

On the testimony of the Mississippi editor of the *Jackson Daily News*, the foes of the Supreme Court Bill killed it. And it might be assumed that such foes were insurgent Democratic Senators. Yet the Mississippi editor says in point: "Pompous and pussy-gutted Senators, their bellies filled with east wind and naught by way of knowledge in their noodles, ripping, tearing, rearing. . . ." But certainly not these men if the Mississippi gentleman is to be believed.

However the *Hartford Courant* is more specific. "[The Court Bill] has been defeated not by high-minded and courageous Democratic Senators alone, to whom the utmost credit is due, but by the voice of understanding public opinion." Consider this statement an instant. The *Courant* designates the voice of public opinion as a prime factor in the defeat. And since there has been no balloting among the people it is obvious that in this instance the voice of public opinion is none other than the voice of the press. That the press has been largely responsible for the defeat is a fact beyond suspicion. From the day the President sent his message to Congress on February 5 the press has fought savagely against the court bill; with the honors for being the first upon the field going to the *Hartford Courant* publishing almost daily an article attacking the reform.

Were it not for recent history, this popular front so solidly demonstrated by the newspapers of the nation would have been an unprecedented and wondrous sight indeed. However, the last election is too near at hand, too full of lessons concerning the press and public opinion to be quickly ignored. For at that time it must be remembered, up until the eve of the election, 85 per cent of the newspapers in the country opposed Roosevelt with a memorial viciousness. And none will ever forget the tense editorial silence that followed his overwhelming election. The press was stunned, and afraid. Stunned that its personal conceptions should have been so much at variance with its readers' interest; and afraid that having employed guerilla tactics it would suffer guerilla reprisals from the political victors. But when none came the press took courage, dusted off its enmity, snuffled a bit in midwinter at the court bill, barked tentatively in the early spring, and then rose in full cry with the summer. It was an amazing sight and a familiar one in American political life. Having lost the election in November the press set out to steal it back before the new year was out. How far the theft has gone won't be known until the returns on November elections show how well or badly Democratic legisla-

tors fare with their constituents—particularly those members of Congress whose utterances were in line with the sentiments of the press. Until that time it is worthwhile to examine a cross section of the nation's newspapers in full cry. And few will doubt having once heard the tonguing of the printer's hounds that it was not so much the court bill they were after as it was Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal.

Early Opposition

As already noted the *Hartford Courant* claims the place of honor in view of an early and late opposition to the court bill beginning with the day of its introduction and continuing through the death watch following the slaughter. Subscribing to Carter Glass's description of the President's proposal, the *Courant* boldly proclaimed it, "destitute of moral sensibility." And then with the final defeat of the measure they stated triumphantly: "The President has suffered a crushing defeat, but a defeat no greater than the monstrous nature of his suggestion invited."

From the *Hartford Courant* to the *Baltimore Sun* is no distance at all. The two papers have a great deal in common. Here in the lair of H. L. Mencken, that one time literary hooligan, the editors of the *Sun* warmed coals and poured them over the President's head. Scorning the obvious line of attack the *Sun* editors vaulted over the court bill proper and had at the man who inspired it—the President. And it was here that the well-known invective of Mencken must certainly have inspired them. The *Sun* flayed the President with middle-class fury. And in some manner discovered that, "from end to end of the country men and women who voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1936—liberal lawyers and physicians, liberal college presidents and professors, reasonable business men and reasonable farmers—have flared in revolt and fought [illegible] stubborn resolution which has been amazing to all save those who have remembered the quality of democracy."

"Downward," said the *Sun*. And Mr. Roosevelt, they continued, is learning the lesson all popular idols must learn: that from the zenith the inevitable course is to the nadir. For the common touch is gone. The court bill was not so much an incident in a political passage but a revelatory vista upon a man suddenly metamorphosed into a monster. "Perhaps," said the *Sun* sadly, "it is impossible for any man to maintain his poise against the adulation which the people of this country temporarily grant a popular occupant of the White House. If a man of as many and as varied human contacts as Mr. Roosevelt's loses the common touch, who can preserve it?"

Specifically the *Sun* hailed the revolt of the middle class; not the proletariat who in the confusion of its own ignorance and vulgarity gave Roosevelt an 11,000,000 ballot majority; but the middle class, the great educated middle class "opposing irresponsible personal government—not humane objectives."

So much for the *Sun* and its middle class revolution, and for Mr. Mencken, who predicted unsuccessfully that the Republicans could run a Chinese and win against Roosevelt in November 1936.

Reluctant Opposition

In Columbia, South Carolina, *The State*, facing the issue, very reluctantly admitted the legality of the method advocated by President Roosevelt. Having supported the New Deal with all the passion of Southern paper beating the drum for the beloved Democrats, it was apparently painful for the editors of *The State* to deplore the bill. "Against our wishes," said the editors, "we feel the action would be bad, and the precedent would be a curse."

The *Richmond News Leader*, "Virginia's Greatest Newspaper," although staunch Democrats, found the court bill unpalat-

able in about the same degree as did *The State.* Somewhat confused in mind the Richmond editors not only condemned the bill on June 14, but advised the Senators to follow a negative path of obstructionism, "the only method by which time may be invoked to restore perspective." But on July 14 the editors of the *News Leader* were, if still determined in their opposition to court change, nevertheless practical enough to suggest that "the President could keep the bill as a gun behind the door and could wait and see whether the Supreme Court holds to its present liberal, evolutionary interpretation of the Constitution."

Defense of Democracy

Among the high-falutin' reasons against the Court bill that poured in a flood from the newspapers even the phoniest abstractions were ably employed to conceal the real objection entertained by the publishers. And yet the press invariably tipped its hand, given enough white space to fill. As an example, the *Kansas City Journal-Post* on July 24, became bored with the passionate defense of democracy. In effect the editors of the *Journal-Post* said: the depression is over and why in the devil can't the Government leave us alone. With the gusto of hungry hogs at a slop trough the *Journal-Post* editors pointed out that "the corner of which Mr. Hoover spoke so many years ago has been turned. The emergency is a thing of the past. Economists watch their charts and compute their indexes. . . ."

Revolutionary Lever

Not a few of the newspapers viewed the bill as a weapon of revolution, although how this revolt would be engineered following the packing of the court they did not care to say. Rather they contented themselves like the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* with hailing the defeat of the bill as "unprecedented since the war weary days." And it has turned, said the *Pioneer Press,* "one of the strongest majorities in the history of the Senate upside down." Behind the *Pioneer Press*'s peculiar pleasure in hailing the demolition of the majority party lies a healthy hatred of labor. While assuring the readers that the Court Bill would have been defeated anyway, they nevertheless credited Roosevelt's labor policy with contributing to its downfall. "He did nothing," said the *Pioneer Press,* "to stop illegal seizures of property and violent interferences with personal rights in the recent labor excesses." And then, abandoning all subtlety, the *Pioneer Press* really let fly: "The public took one look at John Lewis and decided it would rather place itself in the hands of Nine Old Men. Even horse and buggy law is better than no law at all."

Candid Cynicism

With refreshing candor the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* epitomized its opposition to the Supreme Court Bill in a statement following its defeat in the Senate. "It [the defeat] announces," said the *Globe-Democrat,* "that the New Deal may go far with its program of reforms, but not too far." There is little need to labor the implications of this delightful bit of cynicism. Rather it affords an opportunity to congratulate the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for its honesty. No nonsense, mind you. Just a plain hard-headed statement that every honest man will subscribe to who still holds dear his democratic privilege to turn a dollar when and wherever he pleases.

In Iowa, the breeze in the tall corn must blow good will, temperance and serenity into the minds of some editors and publishers. Startling to anyone who has riffled through the bulk of comment on the court bill was the attitude of the *Des Moines Register.* In the midst of passion the editors of the *Register* calmly asserted on May 19: "It would not be fair to say that

the President's attack on the Supreme Court, however unwise in some phases, has done no good."

Objecting mainly to the "excessive cuteness" of the President's plan to bring about laudable reforms in the judiciary, the *Register* agreed that some provision must be made to change the court personnel on some other basis than the accident of death; and found the greatest gain in the controversy has been to put "meaning in a shibboleth from which the meaning had oozed out."

Check and Balance

Under a caption "Let's Not Amend the Court" the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* stated frankly that they found no evidence of a widespread demand for a general amendment giving Congress unusual power to regulate agriculture, finance, industry and labor. "The people are reluctant to wipe out States' rights, or to lose the checks and balances of the three co-ordinate branches of the national government." Ignoring the fact that the editors of the *Monitor* have taken quite a bit upon themselves to state the wishes of a whole people, their statements are nevertheless significant. They fear the loss of States' rights; they fear an expanding control of the Federal Government through acts of Congress; they fear, with the editors of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* the extension of reform. And reform in a reviving market is anathema to the business man. After depression he is in the mood to recoup—and to do this with a free hand.

The attitude of the *Monitor* is in essence the attitude of the press and of business men, once more on the loose for profit. No need here to parade the attitude of the masses on this subject as demonstrated so overwhelmingly in November, 1936. They too have the urge to re-coup. For they knew and are still knowing of depression. They knew hunger, malnutrition, and the dry rot of public charity. They are also after coin, but of a realm apparently unknown to many of our economic freebooters. It is the coin of security, of decency, and of the fuller life. It may be had by revolution; for there is precedence enough in the world today to certify that illusion. Or it may come through reform. And if Mr. Roosevelt is to be believed then the Court Bill was the key to that reformation. In this the *Monitor* disagreed.

Perhaps the most frequent charge leveled at the bill by the press was best expressed by the editors of the *Monitor* whose opinions throughout the entire controversy were marked by an even temper. "Perhaps one of its worst features," said the *Monitor*, "is the effort to solve deep economic and social problems by mere changes in personnel."

To answer this indictment the editors of *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette* pointed out that "In three consecutive elections the people of the United States voted by increasingly large majorities for a broad program of social and economic reform which Franklin D. Roosevelt and his fellow-Democrats of the Senate and the House solemnly pledged themselves to carry into action.

"In decision after decision, to the tune of 11 to 2, the highest court of the land declared the laws designed to transform that mandate from a theory into an actuality, unconstitutional. From the Supreme Court's decision, there was no appeal."

Faced with such an obstacle, said the *Gazette*, the President had but one practical course; and that was to change the personnel of the court, a prerogative that Congress legally enjoys. Considered even superficially, any change in court personnel that would insure a broader interpretation of the constitution must have a profound effect on all problems. "Mere changes in personnel," said the *Christian Science Monitor*. And one wonders if the British Government were not wrong in the

exile of Napoleon; since that too was a mere change in the European personnel.

Strange Attitude

But if the logic of the majority of newspaper editorials was somewhat muddled, then the attitude of the *Milwaukee Journal* was merely strange. Following an appeal to legality and to the integrity of the court and to American principles, the editors of the *Milwaukee Journal* warmly stated "That those who have taken their stand on principle are justified in using every resource to defeat the compromise." Of course this statement upon examination is not nearly so startling as it first appears. The resources of Senators individually or *en masse* are never comparable to those, for example, of the Chicago policemen who upheld American principles on Memorial Day at the gates of the Republic Steel. Actually the editors of the *Journal* were exhorting the Senators to talk the bill to death, to obstruct its passage with their mouths. "There is talk of filibuster," said the *Journal*. "That would be a regrettable necessity, but it is not dishonorable; it ranks high above the purchase of votes for the bill whether by promises of the expenditure of federal money or other 'patronage.' "

Without any attempt at concealment the bulk of the press throughout the controversy demonstrated that behind the criticism of the court bill lay a healthy hatred of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Referring to the court issue the *Oregonian* pointed out lugubriously: "The advent of the second administration of the new deal is a dark dawning for our common country, by this incredible omen alone." This the *Oregonian* saw darkly, as many another good paper saw the red flame and the black smoke of a Landon prairie-fire sweeping the country in November, 1936. In the Midwest the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* also peered into the future.

Dictatorship and the Court

"Down the road indicated by the President," said the *Plain Dealer*, "if followed far enough, lies dictatorship and the end of constitutional government." Such blind faith in the protective powers of the Nine Old Men is worthy of psychoanalysis. It is supposed of course that the editors of the *Plain Dealer* also had in mind the bill of rights when they wrote in one sentence of dictatorship and the constitutional form of government. When such irreconcilable elements are carelessly mixed either in print or conversation the issue becomes serious. So serious, in fact, that one wonders at the type of mind that would place precious human rights into the custody of Nine Old Men without either the power to enforce decrees or the reverential respect of a whole people. However if, as the press would have us believe, our personal liberties rest upon such flimsy support then, certainly, we had better abandon democracy for some more secure form of government. But no man imagines that dictatorship grown powerful enough to formulate decrees would roll back in defeat before the portals of the United States Supreme Court. It's more likely the Nine Old Men would uphold such dictatorial decrees as fast as they could push their pens; for there is no dissent under a dictator. Perhaps it is to this spectacle that the *Plain Dealer* referred.

Ku Klux Klan

On the question of dictatorship the *Chicago Tribune*, "The World's Greatest Newspaper," saw eye to eye with the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Following a "custom to defer comment on important state papers until at least a day has been devoted to study and reflection" the editors came up with the same answer many of their colleagues formulated in something less than ten seconds. As in November the *Chicago Tribune* found President Roosevelt and his

plans exceedingly repugnant. But this time they were more circumspect in showing their distaste for him. Whereas last year following a day of study and reflection, they welcomed the President to Chicago with a fake picture spread on their front page of a sweeper gathering up Roosevelt buttons from the gutter; this time they contented themselves with warning racial minorities that Roosevelt's successor might be a Ku Klux Klansman. "Racial and religious minorities," the *Chicago Tribune* warned, "may well tremble at the prospect Mr. Roosevelt has presented."

Whatever the worth of this warning it is interesting to note that the *Salt Lake Telegram*, published in the Mecca of a religious minority, found nothing in the court bill to arouse alarm. The editors of the *Telegram* took no stand on the issue and voiced but one opinion: that President Roosevelt had taken constitutional means to bring about the reorganization of the court.

Clairvoyance

While the majority of publishers seized upon the court bill as an excuse to view with alarm, and to make dire prophecies of the future, the editors of *The Dallas Journal*, published in Dallas, Texas, must have smiled smugly. For on July 20, 1935, they called the tune the piper would play with uncanny accuracy. "When Mr. Roosevelt made his famous speech to the newspapermen about going over the head of the Supreme Court to the people," said the editors of the *Dallas Journal* in 1935, "he got only a sour response from the country. But prediction is free and frequent nowadays that the President aims to go ahead in 1936 with his campaign to hamstring the Supreme Court and abolish State rights.

"There is some logic in the prediction because the greater part of the new deal program is now seen to be founded upon violation of the Constitution as it is now written. It amounts to setting the Federal Government at tasks which it was not formed in the first place to undertake and which it is forbidden to do by the agreement and the grant of powers contained in the Constitution. . . .

"If Mr. Roosevelt does pitch the campaign upon the issue of destroying many, if not most, of constitutional restraints upon the Federal Government, the result may be whatever you care to prophesy as to the counting of the ballots. But of one thing you can be certain, the Democratic party as it has hitherto existed will be wrecked in the process."

In examining, as has been done here, even a small portion of the press, the noise and vehemence of opinion on the Supreme Court issue draws attention to the most interesting phenomenon of all, a phenomenon that is always the curse, and sometimes the salvation, of democracy. And that is the inarticulateness of the people who, in any controversy, are the final judges. They have no newspapers, no radio stations. They have only the ballot box which, if we are to believe the press, is useless. For despite the votes of 26,000,000 persons, and everything else to the contrary including Roosevelt's occupancy in the White House, there is no longer any doubt that in November, 1936, Landon won the election. And if you don't believe it consult your local newspaper.

SWASTIKA OVER ENGLAND?

Mosley's forces are preparing the ground for a fascist government in Great Britain

By V. F. CALVERTON

DOWN in the devious and sedate Westminster district of London, in the Sanctuary Building, which, incidentally, is subject to the sovereignty of the Ecclesiastical Commissioner, is the home of British fascism. There, in letters melodramatically bold and challenging, are engraved the words, "National Union of British Fascists." Inside the building are youths, ranging from sixteen to twenty-three, scurrying to and fro, busy with divers tasks. They stop immediately, however, at the sight of their superiors, click their heels, and give the fascist salute.

Their faces are fresh, eager, naïve, full of that fervor and fanaticism inevitably associated with proselytizing movements. Many of them still do not "know what it's all about," but all of them know that they are engaged in something highly serious which demands their concentrated attention and concern. Some of them, still unconscripted by the organization, roam about in the book shop which constitutes one of the main attractions in the building. In it, too, are discovered the leading fascist newspapers and magazines of the world, in every language, from Yorkville German to Paraguayan Spanish. The books, in flashing multi-colored jackets, stand out in arresting array on the shelves, and the book-seller, a respectable-looking Bloomsbury youth, is ever alert and eager for a sale.

Determined to thwart the development of these fascist bands, led by Oswald Mosley, and for a time abetted by Lloyd George, who for a brief period threatened to be the new English *Fuehrer* —the Spanish crisis and the actions of Germany have just driven Lloyd George into the anti-fascist camp—the Tory government passed a law forbidding the private use of uniforms of any variety in the British Isles. The effects of this law have been drastic.

As a result, the fascists, who have depended in large part upon their uniforms for their symbol of identification, have found that a considerable part of the glamor and romance of their movement has been destroyed. Today, for instance, it is impossible to distinguish a fascist in the streets, or even in a procession. He has been deprived of the sartorial distinction which European fascists have enjoyed and used to such obvious advantage. He is forced now to rely upon economic doctrine, political palaver, and demagogic strategy to win his converts.

This means reducing the fascists to the same status as members of the Socialist, Communist, and Labor Parties, and Hyde Park reformers. It means robbing the fascist movement of the trappings and trimmings which on the Continent attracted so many of the younger elements among the unemployed proletarians and jobless and frustrated intellectuals.

The Tory Technique

It must be admitted, of course, that the absence of uniforms would not be enough in itself to insure the defeat of fascism. If the powerful interests in England—or Sweden—wanted fascism, and were willing to pour money into its coffers, the jingle

and jangle would go a long way to compensate for the absence of shirt-regalia.

Effective as the non-uniform decree is at the present time, with fascism in England at an ebb point, it would be unwise to conclude that it would be equally effective under all circumstances. The Mosley movement, to date, has never represented a serious threat to the present regime, but then, it must be remembered that, unlike Continental fascist movements, it has never been supported in any widespread fashion by big business or high finance, and without such support fascism can never grow or spread.

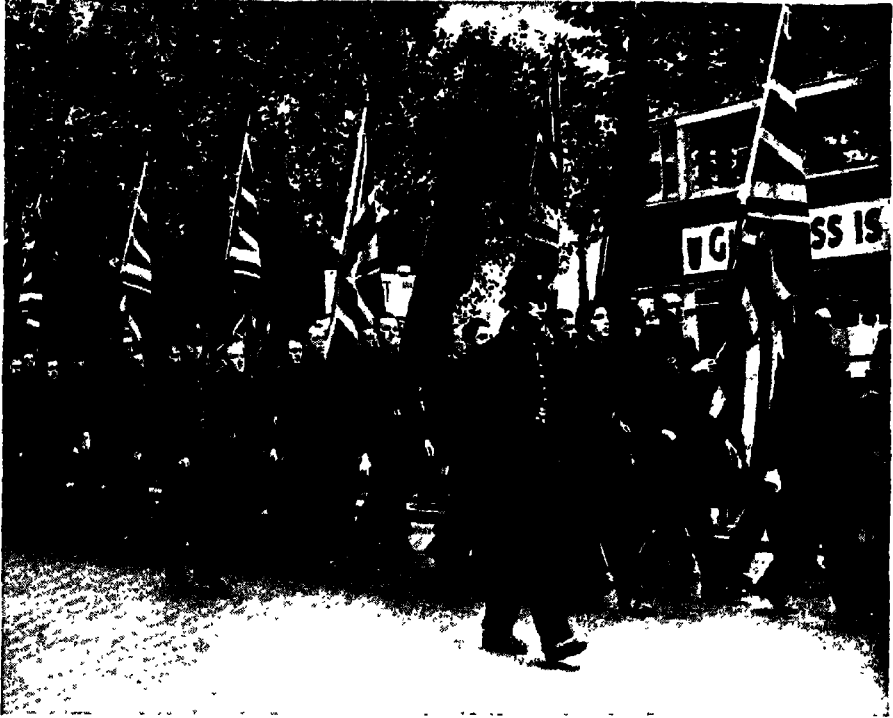
For years now England has been ruled by a Tory government which has been extremely successful in keeping its ear to the ground, alert to the point of seismographic precision in detecting the reactions of the populace, and gifted with a genius for preserving an equilibrium, economic as well as spiritual, between the classes. On the right, it has managed to impose the highest income taxes of any modern industrialized nation; President Roosevelt's NRA attempts to curtail industry were slight as compared with those of Britain's Tory government which even now threatens to tax profits as well as income. On the left, the Tory government has succeeded in keeping the labor movement down by means of a chocolate-coated pill technique which has proved most effective. Its medicaments have made English labor-leaders into bovine yes-men, whose fists have lost their punch, and who are ever willing to compromise, to placate, or to sweeten any situation. Previous English governments learned the compromising, placating, sweetening technique: viz., making labor leaders into Sirs, Lords, Baronets. But this government has developed that technique into an art. The result has been, from the point of view of the Tory government, superlatively satisfactory. The labor leaders thus honored, titularly speaking, have almost always proved to be the best servants of the administration which honored them.

All of which means that so long as the present Tory government can maintain power, by the techniques described, fascism represents neither danger nor threat.

Fascism and Armaments

But successful as it has been, the present government has not been challenged as yet by any forceful opposition. It has managed, because of its adaptations to the economic situation, and particularly now because of the upward swing in the economic cycle, to keep the various interests at stake at an equilibrium. Conditions in England today are certainly better than they were two years ago, and there is every reason to assume that the present improvement will continue for another year or so, if not longer. But the present improvement, as every student of English affairs is aware, is based primarily upon armament expenditures which are hardly short of fabulous (almost all undertaken since the Ethiopian débâcle) and which represent an extremely abnormal economic condition. What will happen when these armament expenditures cease, which in time they must, since England today is as well armed as Germany or Italy, is the great question facing every Englishman today.

If, in the economic decline following the cessation of the armament boom, things grow so bad that the populace begins to squirm and squeal, the tendencies toward both communism and fascism will magnify, and the political struggle will assume a more definitive and violent form.

What will happen then, if we resort to the Continental pattern for reference, will be a rapid development and spread of the fascist movement with all the consequences and crises that flow out of it, all of which may spell the same chaos that occurred in Italy, Germany, Austria, and elsewhere.

European

THE GOOD OLD DAYS: Last year, Great Britain's fascists were allowed the use of their uniforms. But today, it is impossible to distinguish fascists on the streets, for the government has forbidden their appearance in public in their customary black regalia.

Of course, if the present Tory government in England continues to adjust itself, like an eel in a political aquarium, then it has but one alternative; namely, to employ various acts which it has passed in the last few years, each of an increasingly circumscriptive nature, to effectuate a fascist régime under a Tory appellation. Most Englishmen are inclined to believe that this is what will occur. This is what H. G. Wells, and Bertrand Russell consider the British route to fascism.

Whether the present government would attempt a maneuvre of that type, under such circumstances, would depend upon how satisfied the powerful interests were with the purposes and aims of the government under such strained, precarious, and parlous conditions.

Fascism: Continental Style

What is an equally if not more likely development which most Englishmen tend to minimize is that after the slump, following the collapse of the armament boom, the chances are that the present Tory government will not remain in power, but will be superseded by a labor government. This new labor government, inaugurated under such mischievous circumstances, would represent, at least in the eyes of the British Tories, a challenge and a threat, unlike previous labor governments, which have been notoriously feeble. It would be construed as a shift to the left, the consequences of which in the opinion of the Tories would be increasingly catastrophic. To combat the leftist tendency, the Tory elements (or at least a considerable section

of them) would do what the Tory (conservative) elements did in Italy, Germany, Austria, and now in France; namely, invest funds in fascist forces, the purpose and aim of which are to destroy the leftist groups.

Tory elements, however, never back fascist groups when Tory parties are in power. At such times Tory elements are confident, secure, unalarmed about the future. It is only when labor elements come into power, with the suggestion of socialism and communism which such groups evoke, that Tory forces become uncertain, jittery, and hysterical, and tend to resort to all diagrams of extremes to protect their interests. England has yet to experience such a situation in post-Hitler times, and it will be that situation which will put England to the test—to determine whether it will go the way of Continental fascism, adopt a fascism of its own variety and creation, or succeed in equilibrating itself in such a way that no form of fascism will be imperative.

At the time when Edward VIII was trying to decide whether he should give up the throne or Wallis Warfield, attempts were made to form an Edwardian party, which to all intents and purposes would have been potentially fascist in aim. Winston Churchill, ever the swashbucklerish sansculotte, taking the bull by the horns, as it were, set out to be the leader of the party, the character of which he made no attempts to conceal. When the crisis became most acute, however, and labor leaders as well as lords came out in favor of Baldwin and against the romantically-inclined King, Churchill withdrew, like an amoeba that encysts, and crawled into an ignominious obscurity. Thus the Edwardian party came to an abrupt and expeditious end.

It is not of such stuff that British fascism will be made. The spirit of the Edwardians is dead—no matter how much of the Warfield blood flows into its veins—but the spirit of Hitler and Mussolini is not dead. No Englishman will rise and march to the tune of the Horst Wessel song or to that of the Italian fascist hymn, but the fact remains that in the whole Spanish crisis the English government, as everyone knows, has been pro-Franco, which means pro-Hitler, and not pro-Loyalist in its Spanish sympathies.

Why England Backs Franco

In the meanwhile, Mosley and his Fascist followers wait. They are waiting, as they make unequivocally clear, for the downfall of the Tory government after the armament boom débâcle, at which time they hope to acquire the support of the more adventurous Tory elements, and make a challenging bid for power. Each month their presses pour out newspapers, pamphlets, tracts, books, question-answer volumes, all dedicated to the task of explaining fascism to the English populace. *Fascism: One Hundred Questions Asked and Answered*, by Oswald Mosley; *The British Union and the Jews*, and *What the British Union Has to Offer Britain*, by Major General J. F. C. Fuller (C. B., C. B. E. X., D. S. O.); *Women and Fascism*, by Anne Brock Griggs; and *Fascism in Relation to British History and Character*, by W. E. D. Allen, are the names of but a handful of the publications which spring from the fascist presses. In addition, fascist meetings are held, in widespread abundance, from one end of Britain to the other; more than two hundred meetings, for example, were held over the week-end of June 25.

It is amazingly revealing to see how fascist movements throughout the western world resort to duplicate techniques. The Mosley movement, for example, is modeled with uncanny precision upon the Mussolini and the Hitler movements. Each fascist movement protests that it is *national;* that is, different from every other fascist movement, but each movement disavows that

difference by the nature of its propaganda.

Mosley, like Mussolini and Hitler, is for a National Socialism (in fact, Mosley avers that for a considerable time he contemplated the possibility of calling his movement National Socialist instead of British Union of Fascists) which means the *Corporate State*, and he declares that he believes in the destruction of monopolistic interests and in the protection of small interests (the middle class), and in the reorganization of the state along "occupational instead of upon geographical lines." He aims, just as Mussolini and Hitler did, to destroy the conflict between classes by creating a state which will forbid all opposition.

Mosley's Anti-Semitic Program

Most illuminating of all is Mosley's attitude toward the Jews, who constitute an infinitesimal proportion of the English population. In this instance, as well as in many others, he betrays the international anti-semitic attitude of the fascist movement: viz., the recent attacks upon the Jews by Mussolini in his African domains and in his propaganda among the Arabs in Palestine, and recently in Italy itself. Mosley brands English fascism, along with its European brethren, as racial, provincial, and barbarous.

It is Mosley's anti-semitic attitude which is more revelatory of the nature of his program than anything else. For the first two years of its existence, as E. G. Clarke, a leading fascist declares, the British Union of Fascists, "made no reference to the Jewish question at all. Not only were members not permitted to attack Jews, speakers were not even allowed to mention them." But then, when it was found that there was not enough emotional dynamite to the movement, and when it was realized that anti-semitism could add that dynamite, anti-semitism became part of the British Union of Fascists credo.

Since that time, British anti-semitism has become as violent and vicious as Continental. The following quotations from various fascist newspapers and magazines are typical of the anti-semitic spirit which the Mosley movement cultivates:

> "Long before National Socialism was created in Britain, deep down in the hearts of many Englishmen, there has always been distrust and dislike of the Jew . . . the Jew has brought upon himself the wrath of many Englishmen.
>
> "Our National Press, with circulation figures running into millions, is largely Jewish owned. . . .
>
> "The price of gold is fixed every morning by a group of bullion brokers, mostly Jewish, meeting in Rothschild's offices. . . ."

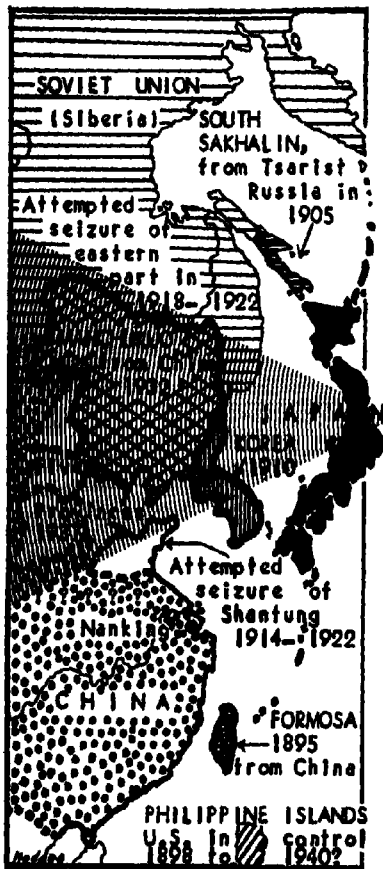
Perhaps, even better than the above, is the following doggerel, which is part of a column appearing regularly in *The Black Shirt:*

> "Roll along, Hobo Hebrews, roll along!
> For you won't be in Britain very long.
> Though old Cromwell brought you back,
> You can hit the homeward track,
> Roll along, Tribes of Israel, roll along!"

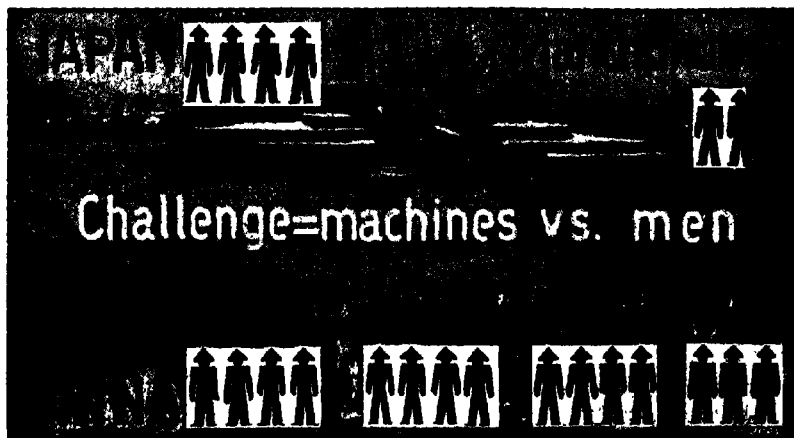
It must not be forgotten that Mosley's contention is that fascism is Britain's native political pattern. When the Tory government is driven out of office, he is convinced that it will realize that it is only to fascism, its native pattern, that it can turn for its preservation. Just as the old English Tories drove the Jews out of England, so the new English Tories, which in Mosley's eyes means the new English fascists, will repeat the same gesture, *a la Hitler.*

This, at least, is the hope of the British Union of Fascists, who have accepted the *fasces* as their symbol of power, and who believe that "the British Empire is now their chief custodian." The British Empire, in their eyes, has become the new Roman Empire, and it is in defense of its interests that fascism is dedicated.

PACIFIC

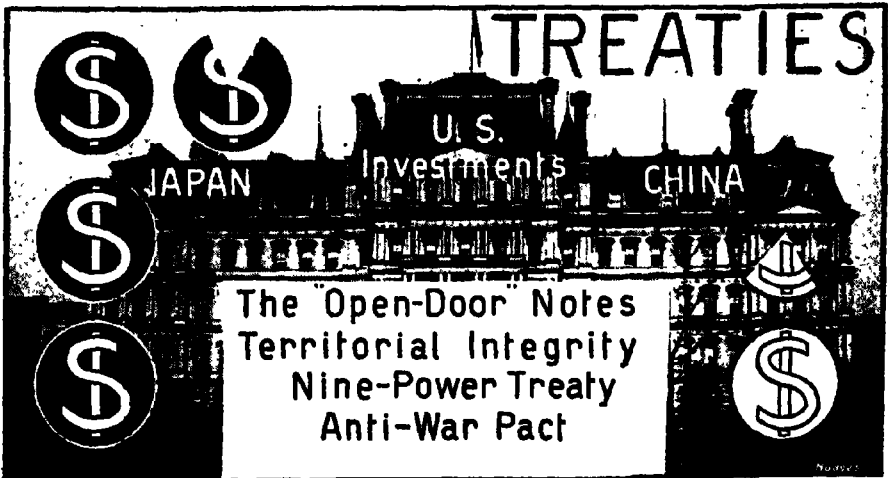
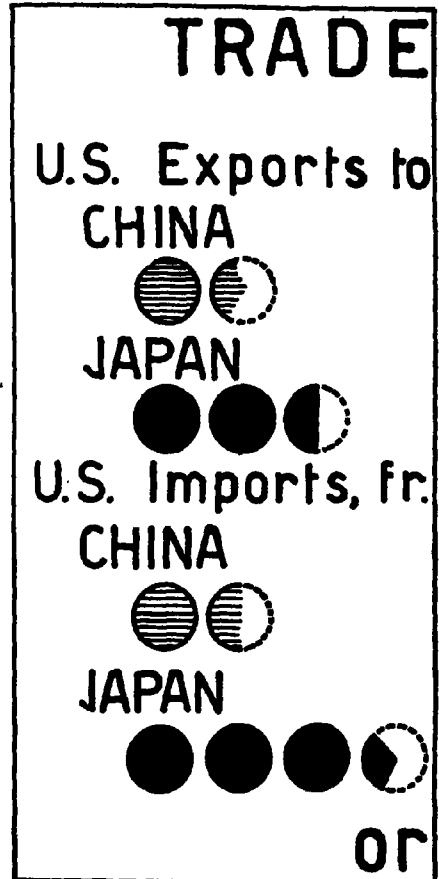
By CHARLES

JAPAN'S long-anticipated drive against Peiping, the old "north capital" of the Chinese Republic, has gotten under way. The retreat of the United States, strategic or otherwise, as a Far Eastern power is equally a fact.

The Japanese Army cannot face the demobilization of its military activity. Domestic tension in the Mikado's Land makes it essential that the forward movement in East Asia continue on some front. The Chinese Nationalists, with their modernization, unification and militarization, are being attacked today because they are too successful in stabilizing China!

The ulterior object obviously goes beyond crushing North China opposition to Japanese domination over five more provinces. It carries in its wake the ultimate "restoration" of the Japanese puppet, the vassal emperor of Manchukuo, to the old Dragon Throne. The cold, calculating unleashing of the murderous Japanese military machine signifies more than the assault of a hundred million Japanese subjects upon almost four hundred million Chinese human beings. Every understanding that the United States has with both China and Japan referring to trans-Pacific political conditions is being breached once again by the Japanese War Office.

RETREAT

HODGES

Americans may not appreciate why Washington only whispers discreet notes of well-contained alarm to the Mikado's government. Certainly part of the answer can be found in the direction of our trade and financial interests across the Pacific. In commercial terms, the big tonnage is on the side of a Japanese-American business friendship. American dollars, in the same way, are more numerous in the Mikado's Land than in struggling Nationalist China for whom Washington professes an occasional solicitude.

These are the realistic interests which loom so large over the State Department. Today, trade means more than treaties solemnly signed to establish an orderly basis for Far Eastern and world relations. How long the United States will stand on the international side-lines because it is profitable, while agreements are flouted and friendly states assaulted, becomes an acute political issue for the American people. Only Americans can make Secretary of State Hull clear his own mind of the dangerous idea of mixing trade at any cost with murder as dispensed by imperialist neighbors with an ever-freer hand.

NIEMOELLER'S CRUSADE

A fighting priest leads the opposition to Hitler's nearly invincible régime

By EMIL LENGYEL

NOT since the Reformation has a man stood out as much in Germany's religious life as the Reverend Martin Niemoeller, dynamic leader of the dissident Protestants in Germany. He is today the most potent power against the Hitler dictatorship, although he represents a spiritual and not a political idea, which he has summed up as man's sovereign right to his soul. History will not forget him.

Niemoeller's life is a series of contradictions. During the war he was a brilliant naval officer who thrilled to the expectation of constant encounters with death. During the years of search that followed he tried to meet his own nature, and one day came the promise of a call. Although dedicated to spiritual struggle, his restless blood forced him into political fights. He was one of the earliest followers of Hitler, and also one of his first antagonists. On the first day of July he was jailed and charged with "sedition." His fate had much to do with the decision of the recent World Oecumenic Conference in Oxford to issue its challenge to the German State.

Every inch a soldier in appearance, tall and slender, with puckered brows and deeply lined face, Niemoeller strikes one as a fighter. He is 45, and full of the matured ardor to carry out his mission. Whether in jail or in the pulpit of his Jesus Christus Kirche in Berlin-Dahlem, all Germany listens to him.

He is of a Westphalian middle-class family, and German military traditions were strong in him. He became a naval officer; adventure was his dream and service was his God. In the first year and a half of the World War he was doomed to inaction as a lieutenant of the German High Sea Fleet in Kiel. Fortune seemed to beckon to him, however, when he was transferred to the submarine training course at Eckernfoerde. After a few months' schooling, he was attached to U-boat *73*. It was a craft of ancient vintage, dubbed the floating coffin, making 9.3 miles per hour on the surface and four miles underwater. On the previous trip its crew had been washed overboard. Niemoeller tells the story of its adventures in his autobiography *From U-Boat to the Pulpit*.

It was only on March 16, 1916, that they left their base in search of glory which, they knew, might have easily been found on the ocean floor. Nature was in an angry mood when they rounded the Shetlands. To die for the fatherland may be glorious but to be sea-sick for it was no fun.

They came, at last, within sight of the Straits of Gibraltar, which the Allies kept under close control. They slipped beyond this formidable obstacle by displaying the French flag. No sooner in the Mediterranean, when their boat, which was one of the very few German submarines to hazard this voyage, began to terrorize Allied shipping. One day they dodged detection in Malta's own Valetta, and the next day they were on their way to Port Said.

After having seen service on other boats, he was given command of *UC-67*, which was less whimsical, and made 12.5 miles

per hour. With his bold coups he made a name for himself. He followed the motto that nothing succeeds like courage. His reckless nature thrilled him, and dismayed the foe. He made such an impression on the French that for several days, while he was around, all traffic from the key-port of Marseilles was suspended.

From Sea to Farm

Although it would have been difficult to eclipse his record, the endless months of service in the submarine began to pall on him. He was now married. "Will we travel year after year," he exclaimed, "with no rest and quiet, like the flying Dutchman?" Although he was as yet unaware of the fate in store for him, his mind turned to a new idea: "Life is not what we know and plan it to be, but what we trust in and dare to do."

His last submarine journey, out of the Mediterranean, was most dangerous, and he was saved almost by a miracle. "God must have a mission for me," he pondered. It was on Armistice Day that they reached the Rock of Gibraltar, dodging enemy torpedoes and surface craft, unaware of the historic event. Had he known what was to follow he would have had his ship interned in Spain.

What was he to do now that Germany's navy was in ruins? Having played hide and seek with death, could he fit himself into the drab life of peace? Still hoping for the impossible and unable to reconcile his hopes and fears, he continued in service until the day he had to realize that this was not his world. He received orders to deliver two German boats to the English, and he refused to carry them out.

He resigned his commission, determined to start a new life in Argentina as a farmer. With all the ardor of his impetuous nature, he loathed life in republican Germany and sympathized with those who sought to overthrow it. His money, however, was not enough to follow the lure of South America. An uncle's letter arrived in time to save him from a mood of destructive gloom. Would he like to start farming in Tecklenburg County? Of course, he would. The uncle could help him to find a place. That part of northwestern Germany was quiet, and by avoiding newspapers Niemoeller could believe the sun still shone on a world he used to know and love. After having been a U-boat commander, he now became a farm-laborer, *Bauernknecht*. He was burning with the desire to learn all about cows and fertilizers. His wife also became a peasant. They wanted to buy a farm, but the German mark began to slump and by the time the plan could materialize it was too late.

Times Wide World

OUTSPOKEN: The Reverend Martin Niemoeller, of Germany, has minced no words in his criticism of Hitler's policy toward the Church.

A New Life

Once more he had to turn to a new life. His father was a minister and a meeting with a pastor turned his attention to

the service of the church. Unable to wait a moment longer when he had made his decision, he trudged to an ecclesiastic friend in a torrential rain, asking to be taught elementary Hebrew.

He was now a theological student in the Muenster seminary and, no doubt, would have given undivided attention to his studies if life around him had been less exciting. Political reaction was on the march and the liberal-republican government of the Reich had evacuated Berlin to the Ehrhardt brigade during the Kapp *putsch.* Niemoeller's heart was with the *putschists,* but their attempt was a failure. The Rhineland now became the battlefield of the Spartacist Communists and the terroristic semi-military groups which believed in the reprisals of the Holy Fehme. Niemoeller was made commander of the Third Battalion of the reactionary Academic Defenders' League, a student organization. This served to recall him to the minds of his ex-comrades in the navy, who now invited him to join the Reichswehr, but he refused.

His mind was made up; the ministry was his mission. In December 1921 he gave his first sermon and he broke down, not once but several times, although he had worked on it for long days and nights. It is of interest to recall this incident in view of the fact that today Niemoeller is considered one of the Reich's most inspiring preachers.

Working his way through the seminary was not easy, and he had a family. He became a common laborer, hoisting tracks for the German State Railways. Then he became a station agent and clerk in a local bank. His wife melted the small amount of gold there was in the stripes of his uniform, and a sack of rice they had turned out to be a life saver. But, finally, he had his pulpit.

Luck began to associate with him and being a "*schneidig*" ex-naval officer, he drew the first prize. Dahlem is a most exclusive parish, consisting of the great of yesterday and today: diplomats, high public officials, junkers and bankers. A former Minister of Foreign Affairs and the present Minister of Finances are among Niemoeller's parishioners.

When Hitler burst upon the German scene, the pastor of Dahlem saw in him the promise of a new life. It was only after the Third Reich had been set up that he began to realize that a "totalitarian" government and Christian religion are incompatible. He started his campaign against the extremists of the régime whom he charged with aiding and abetting the introduction of heresy into the church. He stood up against the Aryan laws in religion: "Those who have embraced our creed belong to us." The drive of Nazis to have the churches co-ordinated, "*gleichgeschaltet,*" found him in the first line of resistance: "Give unto Caesar. . . ."

Opposing Nazism

He raised his voice when the state began to seize church funds: "Seizure of power began with the confiscation of church finances. . . . The church administration is dependent upon political considerations. . . . They are employing the secret police." He helped to set up the Laymen's League, which had the support of some million and a half Protestants. As their leader, he sounded the warning: "Hands off the Evangelical churches of the German Reich."

Although other clergymen may have been older and better known in the past, it was he whom his fellow-fighters elected President of the Pastors' Emergency Federation. From the beginning he has played a leading part in the opposition's Confessional Synods. When Joachim von Ribbentrop, Germany's Ambassador to the Court of Saint James, asked for readmittance into the Dahlem parish, Nie-

moeller suspected that his petition was actuated by English society's attitude toward him and asked a pointed question: "Before dealing with the contents of your letter I beg you to inform me whether the step was prompted by religious conviction or political consideration."

It was in January 1934 that he was arrested for the first time. The following year he was arrested twice. Thugs beat him up in his rectory. A friend of his told me that the Secret Police—the Gestapo—has his telephone connected with a device that makes a phonographic record of all his conversations. At one time it was whispered that the Government would remove him by force or at best, transfer him to a naval vessel as a chaplain. The pamphlets he wrote were seized. Several times he was not allowed to preach in his own church. But meanwhile he had grown into a world figure.

The government sought to settle the Protestant question by ordering an election that was to take place in February. It has not taken place as yet, largely because of Niemoeller's attitude: "We will boycott the elections, because they are ordered by the State, which has no business to interfere with church affairs." Thereupon, the opposition of the dissident pastors stiffened. Scores of them were jailed. The secretary of the Confessional Synod was found hanging in his cell. On June 27, 1937, the government had the leaders of the Synod arrested, but Niemoeller was still free. It was only on July 1 that the Secret Police called for him, and he was taken into Berlin's Moabit jail, charged with "slandering prominent figures in state and party, and spreading untrue assertions about measures taken by the Government." The redoubtable People's Tribunal was to try him for sedition. A collaborator whose sole offense was to have petitions circulated for Niemoeller's release was also jailed.

Although it was not Niemoeller's aim to start a revolt against Hitler, his movement has come to assume great political importance. The only effective opposition to the dictatorship is now the churches. In the early days of their fight it was customary for Protestant dissidents to emphasize their wholehearted loyalty to the Fuehrer. It is highly significant that this is no longer being done. The Government's attitude has so embittered the religious opposition that today it is difficult to say where religious resistance ends and political opposition begins. As leader of a great movement, Niemoeller has taken up arms against a seemingly invincible dictatorship.

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mutual resentment of Great Britain offers some hope for peace between Arab and Jew

By PIERRE CRABITES

AT LEAST one useful purpose will flow from the Report of the British Royal Commission recommending the partition of Palestine. It gives Jewish and Arab extremists a common hymn of hate. It tells them that they must get together, that they cannot depend upon any third party to solve their problem for them, that their fate is exclusively in their own hands.

If two men have one and the same enemy, I am convinced, they are potentially the best of friends, provided their hatred of this common enemy be all consuming in its rancor and provided that it apply to something which is constantly on their minds. I see no reason why this same principle should not extend to groups, provided that their bitterness embrace a matter which appeals to their emotions.

Both Jewish and Arab extremists consider that the Report involves a betrayal of them by England. But one shade of difference separates them on this score. Jewish extremists clung to their faith in England until the nature of the Commission's Report was permitted to leak out to them. Arab extremists had long since lost all confidence in Great Britain because they have felt that the Balfour Declaration of November 1916, which is the Arc of the Covenant of Jewish aspirations, is a shameless repudiation of a solemnly written promise given the Arabs in October 1915.

Jewish and Arab extremists are religious zealots who know no fear and who are prepared to die in defense of their concept of their duty to the Almighty. The conviction is thus thrust upon me that as both camps now hate the English with an all-consuming intensity which is fanned by contempt and fed by disappointment, sooner or later—probably after they shall have waded through blood—their joint cry of *Gott Strafe England* will be the forerunner of a new era.

Chapter XXII is the masterpiece of the Report which has flabbergasted the world. It is attuned to the refrain that "the drawbacks of partition are outweighed by its advantages." It proclaims that "if it (partition) offers neither party all it wants, it offers each what it wants most, namely, freedom and security."

But this formula is far too simple, overlooking the fact that the cutting up of Palestine does not divide the Holy Land into two parts, but makes three slices of it. I shall roughly outline how the division is made explaining why this creation of three parts tends to complicate the issue. The Report proposes:

1) that the northern section and the maritime plain constitute a "sovereign independent Jewish state";
2) that most of the rest of the country, together with Transjordania form a new "sovereign independent Arab state";
3) that a new mandate be exercised by Great Britain over Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth with a corridor leading from Jerusalem to the sea;
4) that temporarily there be a continuation of British mandatory administration in Haifa, Acre, Safad and Tiberias.

Separating the Holy Land

I have made a number of visits to Palestine and my long residence in Egypt has kept me in close touch with the Holy Land. It may be that I have lived so close to the scene that my perspective has become distorted. Be this as it may, I began to visualize Palestine as being but the hinterland of Jerusalem. That city and its suburbs, Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, Calvary seemed to be so completely the heart of the Holy Land that I could no more think of it without evoking them than I could conceive of a man being alive when his head had been severed from his body.

My conviction is that every Moslem and every Jew has fundamentally the same reaction to what Jerusalem signifies as I have —except that its suburbs may not imply as much to them as they do to me. And if Jerusalem means everything to them, if it is the very essence of their Holy Land, it is because it is there that are found the Jewish Wailing Wall and the Moslem Burak.

Any one who is not an incorrigible cynic cannot go to the Wailing Wall and see Jews praying before it without being impressed by the solemnity of their devotion. They seem to be transfixed, to be hypnotized, to live in another world. Many of them have traveled thousands of miles in order that they may prostrate themselves before these few remaining stones of a temple which was once the outward expression of the majesty of the Jewish race. The Wailing Wall is their Jerusalem, and Jerusalem makes it irresistible appeal to them because it contains their Wailing Wall.

This Wailing Wall of the Jews is the Holy Burak of the Moslem World. Jerusalem stands second among the Holy Cities of Islam yielding the palm only to the twin capitals of Mecca and Medina. It occupies this exalted rank largely because Mohammed the Prophet in one of the Suras of the Turân specifically says that it

New York Times

is blessed. And the Wailing Wall of the Jews which is, I repeat, the Holy Burak of the Mohammedans, is considered the holiest place in the city which is called blessed because Mohammed had once touched it.

The Report of the Royal Commission appears to brush aside all the sentimentality inherent to those stones which are sacred to both Jews and Moslems because of the Wailing Wall and the Holy Burak. I say this because the Report assumes an air of lofty aloofness and, in giving Jerusalem to neither Jew nor Arab, deprives both races of that which is most sacred to them and which evokes their emotionalism.

It cannot be held that this solution safeguards the interests of both parties. It cannot satisfy the Jews because it makes a mockery of those lines in the Report which declare that the northern section of Pales-

tine and its maritime plain are converted into a sovereign independent Jewish State. They are asked to be gullible enough to smile and applaud the beneficent statesmanship which has written these paragraphs into Article XXIII:

"The advantages of partition to the Jews may be summarized as follows:

"1) Partition secures the establishment of the Jewish national home and relieves it from the possibility of its bring subjected in the future to Arab rule.

2) Partition enables the Jews in the fullest sense to call their national home their own."

The point which I make is that the Wailing Wall is so inseparably a part of the Jewish national home, so obviously its very essence, that to ask Zionists to agree to the proposition that "partition enables the Jews in the fullest sense to call their national home their own" is to permit their extremists to cry out:

"The English have lost their heads. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad! If they put such nonsense as this into their Royal Report, what proof have we that, in the new zone subject to their new mandate, they will not impose humiliating conditions regulating our access to the Wailing Wall? They have broken faith with us. We cannot accept their plighted troth."

The Arab extremists have still stronger reasons for refusing to admit that their Holy Burak is not in jeopardy as long as it remains under an English mandate. They are told in this selfsame Chapter XXIII that:

"They obtain their national independence and can cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of the neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress."

It strikes me, if Palestine be really the land flowing with milk and honey spoken of in the Bible, that the Report gives the English and the Jews all the cream and the proteins in the milk and all the nutritious substances in the honey and that it leaves the water and the waste to the Arabs. *The New York Times* of July 10, 1937, contains a dispatch from its fair-minded correspondent, Joseph M. Levy, which announces that the Arab High Committee takes the same view of the matter, protesting against the proposed establishment of a Jewish State "in the most fertile part of the country . . . leaving the Arabs the hilly regions."

This aspect of the matter is, however, foreign to the phase I am now considering. Its dominant note is that the Holy Burak has been a Moslem *Wakf* or pious foundation since A.D. 1321; that it is therefore Mohammedan private property and as such could validly be closed to Jewish worshippers, but that even during the days when Islam was absolutely supreme in the Near East, Jews were permitted to pray before it.

This makes it obvious that no English mandate was necessary or is necessary to enable Jews to have unimpeded access to the Holy Burak and that the only practical effect of planting the British flag with its crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew over the Holy Burak is to wound Moslem susceptibilities without helping the Jews one iota.

The Report announces that:

"to both Arabs and Jews partition offers a prospect—and there is none in any other policy—of obtaining the inestimable boon of peace."

And it follows up this statement with these words:

"It is surely worth some sacrifice on both sides if the quarrel which the mandate started could be ended with its termination. It is not a natural or old-standing feud. The Arabs throughout their history have not only been free from anti-Jewish sentiment but have also shown that the spirit of compromise is deeply rooted in their life."

These words are not mine. They spring from the pen of the six scholars and former

officials who constitute the Royal Commission. They say—and I fall back upon repetition as the best form of emphasis—that "the quarrel which the mandate started could be ended with its termination." And they proclaim from the housetops that "the Arabs throughout their history have not only been free from anti-Jewish sentiment but have shown that the spirit of compromise is deeply rooted in their blood." And they imply—this they do not say—that because Jews and Arabs got on admirably together in the Holy Land as long as England kept out of it they should turn the Wailing Wall of the one and the Holy Burak of the other over to the power that unintentionally set them to start cutting each other's throat.

King Solomon won his reputation for great wisdom largely because he settled a dispute between two women claiming a certain baby by ordering that the child be cut in half. He knew that the cry of anguish would determine which one was the rightful mother.

The denunciation with which Jewish extremists and Arab extremists have met the Report of the Royal Commission should tell its authors that if they attach any weight to the acquiescence of timid souls in both camps, their wisdom is not that of King Solomon. And if they read the daily papers and follow the trend of world events, they should know that if English government bears a conservative label, extremists today are calling the tune practically everywhere.

Arabs and Jews: An English View

THE Palestine Report will rank among the great State papers of our time. Its proposals are a profound disappointment to many; but no one can question the honesty and courage with which the Royal Commission have gone about their task, or the ability with which they have presented their case. The problem that they were set to solve was no new one. It was posed twenty years ago, when the Balfour Declaration committed us to the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. Its difficulties began to be realised with the coming into force of the Mandate in 1922; but those difficulties, grave as they looked, did not seem insurmountable. It was hoped and believed that Arabs and Jews would be welded into a single Palestinian nation, that out of a conflict of two nationalisms would come a new harmony, a blend of Eastern and Western civilisation. That hope the Commission have now written off as an illusion. The antagonism of the two peoples of Palestine has sharpened, they find, beyond the possibility of reconciliation, and the experiment that was to unite must be abandoned for a policy of separation. It is an unhappy conclusion, but it appears inevitable. It is idle to attribute the blame, as the Zionists do, wholly or mainly to the weakness of the Mandatory Government. The British Government may have been weak on one occasion or another—it has certainly committed blunders in the course of the last fifteen years. But what would "strength" have meant? Surely nothing less than a permanent coercion of the Arabs, which would have involved not only a breach of the terms of the Mandate, but incalculable danger to the peace of the Middle East and the world at large. Arab nationalism has shown itself violent and unscrupulous; but it has been deep-rooted and widespread, and there is no real ground for the belief that, had Great Britain shown a firm hand, it would rapidly have collapsed, or that the Arab leopard would have lain down cosily with the Jewish lamb.

—*The New Statesman and Nation*

Background of American Labor

Unionism's earliest years coincided with the beginnings of mercantile-capitalism

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the first of a series of articles taken from a book by Herbert Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early in 1938. The second installment, to be published in the October issue of Current History, *will trace the growth and development of the labor movement from the Civil War to its emergence as a fully-grown American Federation of Labor.*

PRIOR to the War for Independence this country had no trade unions in the modern meaning of the term. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, of course, there were various labor bodies, but they were mainly benevolent associations, their function and purpose limited to looking out for their members in times of illness, death, and financial stress. They often assumed the dualistic role of censor. If a frater's workmanship fell below par, he was reprimanded by his fellows and urged to mind his p's and q's. If his private morals became a topic for fence-railing gossip, he was lectured on behavior "seemly for a Christian gentleman" and given tips on temperance.

In short, in a day when free-clinics, poorhouses, home-relief, WPA projects, old age-pensions, the Elks, ward-heelers, and the institutions of private charity were virtually non-existent, such labor organizations were formed by the new town-dwellers—the smiths, the wheelwrights, the cordwainers, the coopers, the hatters, the carpenters, the printers—for their mutual aid and protection against the hazards of this too mortal life. They were friendly, semi-fraternal alliances, instinct with the spirit of the "good neighbour." It is significant, moreover, that in their charters and by-laws it was stipulated clearly that they were not to "engage" nor "concern" themselves with such economic questions as wages and hours. Nor was it necessary for them to do so. Between the master employers and their workmen a sense of cooperation and give and take generally prevailed. If differences arose, they were settled by talking it out over a glass at the tavern. Even though more opulent, the master was often on terms of social intercourse with his journeymen. At his establishment they faced pretty much the same problems. He often worked at a bench alongside his men. He knew what they wanted. They knew what he expected. Rules of apprenticeship and standards of performance were strictly observed by both. He was less an employer in the contemporary usage of the word than a master craftsman who by extra skill or experience or good luck or all combined had been able to call to his assistance other men in turning out a product for which he had previously gained a certain reputation.

But the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown changed this relationship and gave a new turn to the wheel of America's eco-

nomic destiny. Before Lexington and Concord, Great Britain's policy in the Colonies had dove-tailed with Jefferson's highest hope that Americans leave the "whirling distaff" to others and concentrate upon agrarian pursuits. Whereas Jefferson urged this course to confirm his conviction that agriculture was the best way of life, Great Britain urged it simply to discourage the rise of any American industry which might compete with Manchester cutlery or cloth from Leeds or coal from Newcastle.

Once the cord of British control over ways of work and wealth was severed, Americans saw the opportunity to establish industries on their own. Natural resources were not only abundant; they were seemingly limitless. The coercions of king and parliament could no longer stifle ambition nor thwart initiative. But the post-Revolutionary period was a time of confusion with the new nation's finance and commerce shattered and deranged by the dislocations of the war.

It was not until 1791 when the Constitution was at last ratified that business could again be placed on a sound foundation and order restored. Under the Constitution which, from the outset, became "not a document but a stream of history," the owners of counting-house and ship-yard and plantation were able to found a national bank to supply themselves and their friends with credit, and also extend it to the enterprising. A uniform currency was introduced ending the paper money inflation which in 1787 had compelled Jefferson to spend $355.50 for three quarts of brandy. The tariff barriers between the states were abolished, truncating a situation in which Massachusetts placed heavy "duties" on imports from Connecticut, and New York City exacted custom-house fees for every load of firewood or dozen eggs carried by a Jersey market boat from Paulus Hook to Cortlandt Street. At the same time, negotiations for treaties and trade agreements with other nations were vigorously begun. Foreign capital was brought in, and foreign credit sought out. For the alert and business-minded it was the opportunity of the world's lifetime. With domestic tranquillity assured, with ample sources of capital available, with a stupendously rich continent to be still mainly explored and entirely exploited, with the community market becoming state-wide and even national in scope, with a quickened immigration to furnish new reservoirs of labor, it seemed as if the American who wanted to carve out a business career had only to obey the mandates of *Poor Richard's Almanack* to amass, if not a fortune, at least a considerable pile.

Men Must Make Money

At this point in our history a special kind of business man assumed the dominant role. He was called variously the wholesale-jobber, the middleman, the speculator, the merchant-capitalist. The last designation is perhaps more accurate since his function was to buy and to sell and he had the wares and credit with which to perform it. He was in fact the spiritual descendant of Marco Polo, of the trader. His was a variation upon an eternal huckstering theme. He wasn't interested in making goods, but in making money. He did not as a rule either own the mill nor employ artisans in a shop. He bought and he sold. He bought cheap and he sold dear. His appearance coincided with the building of waterways and roads that sutured the seaboard's east with the west of an always moving frontier, widening the market, linking producer of goods in Boston to consumers in far-off Buffalo and Baltimore.

He bought great consignments of commodities from Europe and stored them in warehouses pending a propitious break in demand. Then he unloaded, disposing of his stock in large amounts to local storekeepers who were also coming into promi-

nence as the country expanded and needs grew more diverse. Quickly and surely he began to capture the market formerly served by the local "master" employer and his journeymen who soon found this sort of foreign competition to be a kind of slow strangulation.

In this regard it must be remembered that England and France were the first nations to profit by the Industrial Revolution. The barber Arkwright with his spinning jenny, the preacher Cartwright with his automatic machine-power loom, the instrument-maker James Watt with his steam engine soon enabled British manufacturers especially to turn out an infinite variety of goods that (except for French silks) in quantity and quality could not be matched for the same price elsewhere in the world.

It was not only cottons, woolens, linens, but even hats and furniture and shoes and especially iron and steel products, anchors and cables, nails and anvils, mill-saws and tailors' irons, bonnet wire and sickles, along with china and earthenware that the merchant capitalist found more profitable to "buy British" and import into the States, than to deal with American firms. While Washington and Hamilton, anxious to develop home industries, fumed and scolded and viewed with alarm, the trader in imports flourished. He flooded local markets with goods of English make, despite the appeals of the Founding Fathers and of papers like the Philadelphia General Advertiser which, on its masthead, exhorted its readers:

> *Of foreign gewgaws let's be free*
> *And wear the webs of Liberty*

The American employer hence lost his ability to fix prices in his own community, his own "sales-territory." He was up against a hard-hitting competition from other cities, and from other countries. To buck that competition, he had to lower his own prices or succumb.

Then, as now, labor was the most flexible factor in production costs. Other items of "overhead," interest on borrowings, return on investment, depreciation of plant and equipment, raw materials remained by and large a congerical *constant*.. But a difference of a dollar a week in a workman's wage might for the employer mean the difference between keeping up his enterprise or having it driven to the wall by the onslaught of an ever more fierce and anarchical competition. And because everything but wages was "fixed," he had to "take it out of labor's hide" to undercut his rivals—a situation that has often recurred in our business annals, sometimes from compulsion, sometimes from sheer greed.

Middleman's Paradise

The merchant capitalist had thus driven a wedge between the identity of interests that had previously prevailed among employers and workmen. At first the two groups cooperated to protect themselves against the invasion of this commercial Attila. They formulated and put through Congress the protective tariff policy designed to permit infant industry to suckle at the teats of a new nationalism. Both employers and workmen struggled to "increase output, improve quality." In Providence, as early as 1789, an "Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers" was set up "for the purpose of promoting industry and giving a just encouragement to ingenuity." A little later, in Charleston, shipwrights and caulkers offered prizes for labor-saving devices. Similarly, in Boston, printers hired chemists to experiment with ink, type, paper to the end that "more merit . . . would reside" in their product.

But the merchant capitalist, specialist in marketing, aided by improvements in navigation and bigger and better highways, networked the nation with his distribution lines. He won. And more and more local employers, to survive at all, were forced to

sell their output to this middleman, matching prices with their rivals, domestic and foreign, and often becoming merely a labor-broker who supplied workmen on contractor terms. In this process of cheapening wares for an ever-enlarging market, wages were consistently cut. The associations of the master employers which, like those of their craftsmen, had been friendly and benevolent were transformed into agencies for reducing the pay of journeymen. They advertised in the press for less expensive help. They broke the rules of apprenticeship which called for two to five years of training and which specified the number of "learners" in a shop. By the same token, the workmen's associations cast about for ways and means of keeping wages at previous levels and retaining "work-rules." They hit upon the most rudimentary and still the most effective method. They withdrew their labor-power. They went on strike.

It was in this atmosphere of incipient capital-labor antagonism that America's first trade union was born. It was called the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers. It was organized on a sound footing in Philadelphia in 1794 after several previous and sporadic attempts had failed. It lasted for 12 turbulent years, the epitome of unionism for its day. In 1799 it conducted the first "organized" strike to resist reductions in wages that averaged from $6.00 to $11.25 per week in the shops of masters employing from three to twenty journeymen. It paid one member to "picket," to make the rounds of the city's cordwaining (shoe-making) shops, and see to it that all unionists had left their work. It was all orderly and peaceful, even though this turn-out was in itself very important since shoe-making was the main industry of the country's then largest city, Philadelphia. The union's committee presented the master employers with a list of demands, insisting that the current wage-scales for "cossacks" and "fancy-top boots" and "back-straps" be retained. After nine weeks of negotiation the strikers won.

It is interesting to observe that this particular dispute had nothing to do with ownership of the means of production, nor with technological change. The tools were still hand tools owned by the journeymen themselves, many of whom worked at home as much as they did in the shop. It was all a simple, clear-cut issue between workmen's wages and employers' profits, as determined by the "existing state of the market."

The Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers was called a "trade" union simply to indicate that journeymen in the craft or trade of shoe-making had joined together to protect their living standards against attempts to depress them, and to guard their "competitive area" against "interlopers." In general, other unions of the period — cabinet-makers, tailors, printers, hatters, coopers—followed the same pattern, seeking to solve the same problems, including that of the "red herring" which was early drawn across unionism's trail.

In 1825, for example. 600 carpenters went out on strike for the ten-hour day. The response of that city's "gentlemen engaged in building" reads today like an American Liberty League pamphlet. They declared that they could not believe "this project to have originated with any of the faithful and industrious sons of New England, but are compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth" which would open "a wide door for idleness and vice . . . commuting the present condition of the mechanical classes made happy and prosperous by frugal, orderly and ancient habits for that degraded state. . . ."

The relative scarcity of skilled labor gave unions the balance of power in bargaining with employers during a span of some 21 years (1797–1818).

It was a balance soon shifted, however, by the depressions of a cyclic capitalism,

by courts which soon became the handmaidens of ownership, by the migration from country to town, of Yankee farm girls to New England's factories, and by the delayed impact of the Industrial Revolution which, by the first quarter of the 19th century, began to hammer furiously at the walls enclosing what was essentially a handicraft and agrarian order.

Progress on Parade

In 1820 the coruscating Sidney Smith, with all the arrogance of that day's Albion, inquired in the *Edinburgh Review:*

> In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book? . . . Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets?

Yet in the same year that he put his query, Massachusetts reported 161 "manufactories" going at full blast, and all New England was building cotton and woolen mills and the working population of New York City, with its "monstrous diversity of trades," was growing with such wanton rapidity that "houses had tenants before they had windows and doors" and streets were lined with dwellings before sewers were dug, or wood laid for sidewalks, or cobbles made for pavements. In Philadelphia more than 4000 craftsmen were engaged in weaving alone. Even the "frontier" settlements of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati were becoming manufacturing centers of importance, and throughout the entire Northeast the wheels were turning at a quickening tempo and coins clinked on store counters that were piled ever higher with goods and yet more goods.

> "In 1820," says McMaster, "it was estimated that 200,000 persons and a capital of $75,000,000 were employed in manufacturing. In 1825 the capital used had been expanded to nearly nine times that amount and the number of workers to 2,000,000."

It was also during this period that unionism ramified out into a labor movement. The distinction between the two, and their relations to each other, are less subtle than salient. The term "labor movement" means that attitudes of unity and cooperation among wage-earners have gone beyond the confines of their own specific vocations to include the interests of their prototypes in other fields. It means that the purely economic emphasis of unionism has been revamped to include political action as well.

The American labor movement, then, as contrasted with unionism proper, began in 1827 in Philadelphia—that city which was "still the cradle of liberty" or a "hotbed of unrest, sedition and agitation," or whatever contemporary comment you may choose. It was here that 15 trade societies banded together to form the "Mechanics Union of Trade Associations." It was the first "city central," or alliance of workers among various occupations, in the annals of mankind. The impetus for its creation stemmed directly from the dumping of cheaper foreign goods on American markets after the embargo had been lifted, and shipping freed, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

It was started, of course, to keep wages up and hours down. But it soon grew a political arm, the Working Men's party which was also the first organization of its kind in world history. For there were certain needs that the unionists wanted to fulfill—needs which, they thought, could not be answered by the use of the economic method alone, by bargainings or by strikes. Along with similar alignments in Boston and New York, this Working Men's party, in the summer of 1828, therefore embarked upon what was to become the most symbolic and significant struggle of any labor movement in the American adventure. On its banners was inscribed a single aspiring slogan: "Equality of Citizenship."

It was, of course, the world's egalitarian age; and in America it witnessed the "rise

of the common man." In 1828 Andrew Jackson was swept into office on our first popular wave of populism, the revolt of the homespun of farm and forge against the broadcloth of the bank and the warehouse. It was the first and most successful rebellion of the small business man (then the most master-craftsman) and the farmer and labor against monopoly, against Big Ownership. It was not a protest against employers generally, but rather against the "usurious rates of blood-sucking moneylenders," against land speculators, against the middleman or merchant capitalist. An editorial in the *Mechanics Free Press*, party organ, separated the wicked from the pure in heart. "If an employer superintends his own business (still more if he works with his hands) he is a workingman and has an interest on the side of the remuneration of labor," the paper declared in 1829.

Labor and Education

It must be recalled that at this time property qualifications for suffrage had been but recently removed—1820 in Massachusetts, for example, and two years later in New York State. The newly-enfranchised worker was proud of his vote. It was not only a ballot. It was an inspiration. It was a new and wondrous tool by which he could lever himself into the better things of life. He took seriously the Declaration's words about being born free and equal, about the pursuit of happiness. He wanted to translate their grand promise into a less grubbing reality. He wanted a status of dignity in his community, and its respect. He wanted to get rid of imprisonment for debt in vile dank jails if he or his kind owed as little as $3, and in one notorious case, two cents. He wanted a lien law to protect his income should his employer go suddenly bankrupt and leave him holding the bag—to the tune of a $400,000 wage-loss annually in the building industry alone. He wanted, perhaps more than anything else, to have his children educated. What was more, he wanted them educated at public expense. He clamored for the reëstablishment of schools to be supported by taxation in order to end a situation under which, as late as 1837, 250,000 children out of 400,000 of school age in the sovereign state of Pennsylvania were without any formal instruction, even in the Three R's.

Curiously enough, it has always been one of the more popular superstitions that our free school system somehow "just growed" like Topsy, or was somewhere forevisioned and blueprinted by the Founding Fathers. The more erudite may even mumble something vague about Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. But, as a matter of fact, our free school system was almost wholly the result of unceasing agitation by the wage-earners who, with the introduction of power-driven machinery, particularly in textiles, were beginning to be divorced more and more from their tools and to congregate in the mushrooming factory cities and towns.

Free schooling was then available only to the "pauper poor," a state of affairs which, in the workers' view, knocked the catchwords of "*liberté, egalité, fraternité*" into its own cocked-hat. His new concept of himself as a citizen who had spacious and inalienable rights didn't dove-tail with the idea that his children could learn how to read and write only by means of what was really a charitable handout. "Free, equal, practical, non-sectarian, republican" education became a shibboleth around which rallied the new hosts of labor. They displayed that touching faith to which we as a people have been always prone: that a single reform, whether manhood suffrage, free schools, free homesteads, free silver, the single tax, may prove at long last a magical midwife who could deliver healthy squawking infants from our social miscarriages and our economic abortions.

At conventions and meetings of Working Men's parties countless resolutions were

adopted, varying the theme that "equality among men results only from education"; that "the educated man is a good citizen and the uneducated an undesirable member of the body politic"; that workers were "entirely excluded from the advantages derivable from our free institutions" and had been subjected to "gross impositions" due to "want of knowledge and correct political information"; that "all history corroborates the melancholy fact that, in proportion as the mass of the people becomes ignorant, misrule and anarchy ensue—their liberties are subverted, and tyrannic ambition has never failed to take advantage of their helpless condition"; that "there appears to exist two distinct classes, the rich and the poor; the oppressor and the oppressed; those that live by their own labor and those that live by the labor of others; the aristocratic and the democratic; the despotic and the republican . . . the one aspiring to dignified stations and offices of power; the other seeking for an equality of state and advantage"; and that, finally, "our government is republican, our education should be equally so."

Mr. Owen, Reformer

The campaign to procure for all the children of the commonwealth equal education, and hence, it was believed, equal opportunity, evoked many fierce factional fights. On the one hand were the "intellectuals" led by Robert Dale Owen, eldest son of Robert Owen, the English industrialist, philanthropist, utopist. Like his father, Owen *fils* was animated by a rare reforming zeal. He, too, had a Rousseau-like faith in the intrinsic goodness of man. He, too, identified himself with the cause of the earth's disinherited. He had helped his parent to establish New Harmony, Indiana, a community where, it was hoped, a microcosm of the new cooperative state would be born. Its birth was long overdue—at least in the opinion of Owen, the elder, who declared in 1818 that "the system of individual opposing interests," in other words the laissez-faire economics glorified by Adam Smith, had "now reached the extreme point of error and inconsistency" since "in the midst of the most ample means to create wealth, all are in poverty, or in imminent danger of the effects of poverty upon others." This self-taught draper's clerk, who read mainly in statistics and who in his twenties had become a dominant figure in Britain's cotton industry, was the first man to glimpse the immeasurable importance of the Industrial Revolution; to perceive that the application of steam or stored power to the production of goods was more crucial as a wealth-creating advance than even the domestication of animals or the discovery of the principle of the wheel. According to his own intimations of the "shape of things to come," competition for pounds and francs and dollars (capitalism) should soon be supplanted by cooperation (collectivism) in which the labor hour was to be the medium of exchange. He abhorred the economic codes and social customs then existing with all the moral fervor of the humanitarian and all the anti-waste fervor of the technologist. "I was," he once wrote, "completely tired of partners who were merely trained to buy cheap and sell dear. This occupation deteriorates and often destroys the finest and best faculties of our nature . . . under this thoroughly selfish system . . . truth, honesty, virtue will be mere names, as they are now and as they have ever been. It is a low, vulgar, ignorant and inferior mode of conducting the affairs of society; and no permanent general and substantial improvement can arise until it shall be superseded by a superior mode of forming character and creating wealth."

He was the first man to see that the unemployment which plagued Europe after Napoleon was sentenced to Elba had been

caused by the displacement of men by machines, by the return of soldiers to their peacetime vocations and by the collapse of the war boom's expanding market. And at New Lanark, Scotland, where his own mills were located, he had bossed into being an approximation of his ideal of the industrial community which, he thought, the times demanded and from which the poverty and degradation which marked cotton manufacture were effectually banished. Under his management which, for all his fine intentions was that of benevolent despotism, the operatives at New Lanark, drawn from the lowest classes, the drunkards and whores and the shiftless, along with children shipped in from orphan asylums, were transformed into the best-housed, best-clad, best-fed, best-educated, best-behaved of any in all Britain. Yet when Owen appealed to the princes of state, church, and industry to emulate his own example, he incurred the enmity of all three. Whereas at New Lanark he had been content merely to foster high standards of living within a community, he had from the platform attacked religion as an obstacle to truth. He had attacked property as a form of theft. He had attacked the family as an outworn institution. The ruling authorities began to regard him as a dangerous man and a subversive force; and his friends were afraid o be seen with him. While denouncements of Owen and his ideas mounted at times to 'ury, he decided that if ever he were going o inaugurate his "superior order" he required a society as yet a *tabula rasa* on which he could imprint his design. Europe, he felt, was cancerous with caste divisions nd their prerogatives and "inclemencies," still dominated by the dead hand of a feudal past.

Excursion in Utopia

Hence from the Rappites, a religious sect, he purchased New Harmony, Indiana, the new world of America; and on July 4, 1826, he launched his "Declaration of Mental Independence" from "Private Property, Irrational Religion and Marriage," inviting the globe's "industrious and well-disposed" to join this new venture. He himself returned promptly to Scotland, leaving the experiment to its own fate which was disastrous. Like most uplifters, Owen had a fatal blind-spot: he never realized that people in general weren't actuated by the same desire for human betterment which, despite all his thwartings, kept burning in him like a hard gem-like flame. It had been his own purity of motive and his own efficiency in management that had brought success to New Lanark, and had made it less a proof of his thesis than a tribute to his intelligence and nobility of character.

In his American enterprise there was also pure motive enough, but virtually no efficiency and even less common sense. The protagonists of the New Era talked too much. They matched Platonism against Pantheism, by day and by night, and opposed materialism to transcendentalism and forgot to saw wood and gather the harvest. There were naturally quite a few crack-pots—the lunatic fringe that, like moths, wing towards any new light in their darkness. Then, too, there were plenty of rapscallions and ne'er-do-wells attracted by the thought of easy money and easy women. The sheer non-selectivity of Owen's invitation had allured both the salt of the earth and its scourings, and all ingredients in between. In his abiding naivete, Owen had taken into partnership a cut-throat promoter named Taylor who by trickery soon appropriated for himself and a few dozen adherents more than a third of the colony's cattle and farming implements, and set up a false and rival Zion adjacent to New Harmony, on a tract of land that Owen, in desperation, deeded to Taylor to get rid of him. Promptly Taylor and his followers built a distillery that undermined the Owenite preachments of temperance;

and he also constructed a tannery that competed with New Harmony's own. And within three years the original colony with all its large plans for self-sufficiency, with its own granary and saw-mill and slaughter house, with its own cobblers and tailors and mechanics, with its own forum and school and newspaper, was but another word for chaos. In 1829 Owen sold the property to buyers more interested in profits than paradise, and with the tautology of reformism he repeated New Harmony's failure in England, time after time.

Robert Dale Owen, however, had inherited his father's tenacity of purpose. In his opinion two mistakes had at the outset destroyed the success of New Harmony and its many imitations, ranging anywhere from 40 to 400 in the United States. In the first place, he reflected, the cerebral and cultured members of the community couldn't do anything useful with their hands; in the second place, the run-of-the-mill ordinary folk had been conditioned by anti-social habits, and their inbred cupidity had been aroused by the example of the unscrupulous Taylor. It was impossible, Robert Dale Owen deduced, to move very far towards the Golden Age working with adults alone. They were either too impractical to help fashion the ideal state in miniature, or they were influenced unduly by the outlook of "me first and devil take the hindmost." Instead, he determined that it would be wiser to begin with children who were more malleable and to train them for creative living in that cooperative commonwealth which Owen the elder had envisioned. He himself had been educated at Hofwyl, Switzerland, in a school conducted as a "self-governing children's republic" by the heretical Emmanuel von Fellenburg, associate of the equally advanced, and more famous, Johann Heinrich Pestolozzi. Both men held that the purpose of education was to enable the individual to develop his latent aptitudes and to combine an appreciation of the "things of the mind and the spirit" with the exercise of some functional skill, the more manual the better. His own experiences at school and at New Harmony served to confirm his view that the "practical arts and useful sciences" should be bedrock in any educational program looking towards the future of an improved humanity.

ARMS OVER EUROPE

The second of a series of articles analyzes the military strength of the fascist states

By CURT L. HEYMANN

"Prepare in careful peace-time work for the day of destiny, which we do not long for but which will find us ready, the day when the Fuehrer and Supreme Commander of the armed forces call you. . . ."

—General Werner von Fritsch,
Chief of Staff of the German Army

QUOTATIONS like the above are the alpha and omega of Italy's and Germany's nationalism. Hitler's and Mussolini's vast armament programs do not aim merely at the unification and strength of their nations as both dictators have tried to pretend. Mussolini's course is shown in Ethiopia, Spain, and the Mediterranean. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* points to the policy of the Third Reich. Past and present show that the ambition of dictators knows neither satisfaction nor climax.

Italy emerged from the World War as a doubtful victor but her national unity remained intact. Germany, defeated, impoverished, and on the verge of national collapse, regained her internal strength and kept her national unity under a democratic rule. But nationalistic pride never swallowed the pill of defeat and it required a dictatorship to make her race-conscious.

Where there was once a United Italy, there is now a Greater United Italy, a pseudo Roman Empire, but an Empire at last. Where there was once a Kaiser with his satellites Tirpitz and Zimmermann, there is now a Hitler with his Goering and Goebbels. The Italians reached out across the sea and posed as conquerors. The Germans have not overstepped the Reich's boundaries. Not yet. Germany is satisfying her war-like appetite in Spain, the *Furor Teutonicus* joining hands with the *Fascismo Furioso* in a bloody dress rehearsal which—not only in a military sense—is to test that symmetrical figure: the Berlin-Rome axis.

Yet, whereas an axis, mathematically speaking, is a straight line, this imaginary figure across the Continent turned out to have some rough edges and soon took a zigzag shape. Touching Austrian independence it jumped up and down like a stock-exchange graph on a bull day; it was bumpy when it reached mutual interests in the Danubian Basin; and when the mathematicians Messrs. Schacht and Neurath tried to construct an extension line to the Balkans, that good old axis squeaked as if it had not been properly oiled. Hungary, so close to the dictators' hearts, refused to turn her frozen credits in Germany into armament orders from the Reich, because the events in Spain discredited the reputation of the German armament industries. With regard to Spain, especially Guadalajara, and in view of British rearmament, it looked for a time as if the ingenious engineers in Rome and Berlin had built that transcontinental line to bolster their troubles rather than to let their triumphs rotate.

Since dictatorships need glory, something had to be done about it. The picture changed when Marshal von Blomberg appeared in Rome and began his inspection of the Italian armed forces. As was not otherwise to be expected, it did not

calm the atmosphere. Instead, closer military operation between the two fascist powers was mapped out. Whether a German-Italian military pact actually exists or not does not matter. The two fascist states co-operate like formal allies. This child, too, had to receive a name, and Virginio Gayda, semi-official spokesman for Mussolini, called it in the authoritative *Giornale d'Italia* "a defensive entente."

Consequently, the "defensive" strength of both nations cannot be viewed separately. They must be considered as a military unit. Such an understanding in the military field also requires close economic operation, and in this connection the conversations which General Goering, as executor of the Four-Year plan, has had in Rome are likewise significant. Baron von Neurath also carefully examined all questions between Italy and Germany.

Germany's Forces

Reviewing the Third Reich's actual fighting forces, I shall first quote from a survey of the German Business Research Institute which was issued early this year. According to it, the world's armament expenditures increased from ten billion marks in 1913 to more than three times that number in 1936. It was not revealed whether these figures were supposed to include German rearmament, but presumably they did not, since the survey remarked that "Germany holds a special position in these armaments as it was retarded by the Treaty of Versailles." Since 1934 Germany has attained more or less equality with France, for which reason the question arises whether a 20,000,000,000-mark "supplementary armament requirement" has been expended since. These "supplementary expenditures" over and above revenues are estimated at 27,000,000,000 marks, which is the estimated figure for the total additional public indebtedness.

The Banker, a London monthly, credited with special facilities for the correct analysis of conditions in the Reich, said in a recent issue that the German military expenditures for 1936-37 will reach the gigantic total of 12,600,000,000 marks. This huge military budget contrasts with one of 1,019,000,000 marks in 1934–35. At the end of the 1936–37 period, Germany, *The Banker* stated, will in four years have spent upon arms 31,100,000,000 marks.

ARMY: As in the case of the budget, secrecy prevails as to the strength of Germany's land and air forces. But while the Third Reich shuns publicity in this respect, too, her army is generally estimated at 800,000 men, so far the largest standing army of any power with the exception of Soviet Russia. Rebuilt on the scheme of the old Imperial army, but in addition highly mechanized and motorized, it is organized in four group commands and thirteen army corps with a general staff of brilliant officers, who stood their test in the world war.

AIR FORCE: Liddell-Hart, the British military expert, estimated Germany's air force at the end of 1936 at 1,200 first-line planes. On the basis of the best available data, she has now about 1,800 first-line military aircraft, a force about equal to Britain's. A reserve plane strength of at least 100 per cent can be taken for granted. About one-half of the air force are probably bombers, and at least half of them can carry a ton or more of explosives. According to General Goering, commander of the Air Force, it is now Germany's goal to equal the air power of France and Russia combined.

NAVY: By the terms of the Anglo-German naval agreement, Germany is entitled to build up her naval forces to 35 per cent of the total British tonnage. That percentage incidentally gives Germany the right to build a navy as large as Britain's home fleet, and Britain's colossal rearmament program will give the Reich an

unexpected increase of her naval force. The German Admiralty last July issued the following figures for the strength of the navy by June 1941: Five battleships of 26,000 to 35,000 tons, three pocket battleships of the *Deutschland* class, two aircraft carriers, fourteen cruisers, forty destroyers, including a number of heavy-tonnage torpedo boats, and submarines with a total tonnage of about 23,000.

Italy's Forces

The Fascist Grand Council last March voted to throw all Italy's resources into creating a war machine capable of defending Italy against any adversary. This followed Mussolini's declaration that "we always, in the course of a few hours and after a simple order, can mobilize 8,000,000 men." The fascist government embarked on its huge armament program soon after the breaking of the Italo-Ethiopian controversy. Although no official information is available, it is estimated that the enormous sum of about $630,000,000 will be spent until the rearmament program is complete by the end of this year.

ARMY: Taking Mussolini's figure of 8,000,000 men for granted, his army would be composed as follows: 450,000 in the active army; 900,000 active reserves; and 5,600,000 inactive reserves. To this can be added youths of pre-military training, between 18 and 21 years old, who have undergone physical and military drill since childhood. This would make a grand total of well over 8,000,000 men. Only Russia could probably mobilize an equal force so rapidly.

AIR FORCE: Next to her massed and trained manhood, Italy's strength lies in her air force. According to Mussolini, it is being built up to match Italy's new imperial responsibilities. Last July it was announced in Rome that sixty new airports were under construction. The air force personnel is estimated at about 36,000 men, with some 6,000 reserve pilots in case of war. The estimates on her first-line planes vary between 1,500 and 2,500. If she reaches her goal by 1941, she will have an air armada of more than 4,000 first-line combat machines.

NAVY: Italy's navy is kept at full strength and will be expanded to meet any British threat in the Mediterranean. "As England builds, Italy will build," is the slogan. The navy personnel has recently been increased from 60,000 to 100,000 men. Many light warships are being added to two 35,000-ton battleships now under construction. Ten new submarines have been completed. By the end of this year her total strength in submarines should be around 100. New naval bases have been constructed on Elba and at Taranto in Southern Italy. Lybia and Tripoli have been strengthened, the entire scheme having the objective to solidify Italy's position in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean.

Il Duce concluded his African venture with a *pax romana,* i.e. a glorious peace, and shortly afterward expressed hope for long periods of peace. However, he hastened to add that an eternal peace was absurd and impossible. He, obviously, has become familiarized with the Nietzschean philosophy that war is a necessary element in the life of mankind. Needless to stress that in this he is fully supported by Nazi ideology.

But it has been reported that the German General Staff has sent a warning to Hitler not to involve Germany in a general European war, because the German army was not yet ready for a trial at arms. Could Marshal von Blomberg have voiced a similar warning to Mussolini? Or could it be that the Germans, recalling how Italy dropped out of the Triple Entente in 1914, are not so sure about their fascist ally? In this gamble, played by fanatics with frenzied zeal, the players hold their aces in the hole.

THIS FUSS OVER SYPHILIS

As common as the measles, venereal diseases today affect 30,000,000 in this country

By B. B. TOLNAI

SOCIAL DISEASE is today no longer a veiled threat. Shielded by generations of subterfuge, it now emerges as a major menace, more destructive than tuberculosis and about as *common* as the measles.

The ravages of syphilis and gonorrhea in the United States each year dwarf our World War casualties. It has been estimated that one out of every ten in the population either has had syphilis, or is actively infected with it. Current estimates place the number of afflicted as high as ten million. Gonorrhea is two or three times as numerous, bringing the grand total to something like thirty million. Each year over 500,000 cases of syphilis alone are reported throughout the United States. In New York City over a thousand venereal infections occur each week; this despite the fact that syphilis, at least, can be rendered non-infectious within 24 to 70 hours. It has been estimated that nearly 15 per cent of the inmates in insane asylums in America are suffering from paresis. Fifteen per cent of all blindness is said to be due to syphilis, while 40 per cent of defective vision is likewise attributed to this cause. Less deadly in its immediate consequences, gonorrhea is the leading cause of sterility and invalidism in women. It accounts for 60 per cent of all blindness of the new born.

Syphilitic deaths, like the incidence of the disease, are largely a matter of conjecture, hidden as they are under any number of misleading names. One hundred thousand a year is a generally-accepted estimate. Dr. Arthur C. Palm, head of the Social Hygiene Foundation of Cleveland, however, has prepared a tentative table of eighteen sources of syphilitic deaths, bringing the total number closer to 200,000.

Syphilis and gonorrhea as such are no more socially conscious than contagious diseases in general. They strike with equal virulence on either side of the railway tracks, though they naturally thrive best under conditions of ignorance and poverty. This is particularly true of the Negro population. A routine Wassermann of 33,000 Negroes in the South showed a prevalence of 205 infections per thousand, most of them untreated. In New York City 200,000 inhabitants of Central Harlem yielded 15,695 cases of syphilis, as against a total of 47,980 in the entire borough of Manhattan, with a population of over 3,000,000. A social worker, supervising 88 families, reported syphilitic infections in all but eight.

According to the National Social Work Council, the cost of medical care for syphilis and gonorrhea is over $100,000,000 a year in the United States. Added to this is a minimum of $84,000,000 lost annually in wages, plus an expenditure of $25,000,000 for the maintenance of institutions for the disabled victims of venereal disease. If this same amount were devoted to prevention, syphilis and gonorrhea would be virtually wiped out in a generation. Instead, most states appropriate less for venereal control than the cost of a one-way bridge in a backwoods lane. With a billion-dollar armament budget, the government of the United States allots in all

a little over ten million dollars to the checking of syphilis and gonorrhea.

Free Wassermann tests, to be sure, may be had anywhere. Beyond that, however, only the most rudimentary arrangements exist for prevention and cure. Public clinics are overcrowded, and there are far too few to fill the need. Most State-maintained clinics will not give treatment after the communicable stage. Only four States, New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Illinois provide free drugs for all clinics and private physicians who ask for them. In a dozen other States free drugs are available for syphilis, but not for gonorrhea. Forty States and the District of Columbia make no effort to disseminate necessary preventive knowledge, or to insure the quality of preventive medicines and devices. Eighteen States and the District of Columbia have no statutory provision for the free distribution of anti-syphilitic drugs to physicians and hospitals.

It has been estimated that industrial insurance and workmen's compensation rates could be reduced 30 per cent if syphilis and gonorrhea were eliminated. Nevertheless, only a handful of large industrialists make any provision for venereal control among their workers. Months of effort to enlist factory operators in anti-venereal campaigns are apt at best to elicit curt rejoinders from the vast majority.

Not more than one-tenth of the diseased in this country are thought to be under treatment. Half of them are either unaware of their condition, or have only the faintest notion of its seriousness. According to one estimate not more than five per cent of those infected with syphilis are ever cured.

Profiteering in Misfortune

Examination fees for syphilis range from $3 to $35. Treatments are $4 to $25 for intravenous, and $2 to $20 for intramuscular injections. Each succeeding Wassermann boosts the patient's bill from three to ten dollars.

SOCIAL PROTECTION: New York City's Bureau of Social Hygiene recently took photographs of its work in the clinics but was careful to paint out the faces of the patients. Examinations and treatments are given in strictest confidence.

The rock bottom cost of one year's treatment for syphilis is thought to be around $160. A more usual estimate is $250 for general practitioners, and about $550 for specialists. With the peak age of infection being around 21 years, the mystery of discontinued treatments is thus at once clarified. Even considering the population as a whole, not more than one-fifth can afford to pay these rates. Fifty per cent can pay about half, while 30 per cent cannot pay at all.

One reason advanced for these boom prices is the high cost of drugs administered in the treatment of syphilis. The fact is, however, that these drugs are not necessarily expensive. Neo-salvarsan, for instance, in the quantity usually injected by doctors, costs $0.43, while one dose of bismuth, used for intramuscular injections, is only three cents.

A more ready explanation could be found in the potential liability a venereal

practice is apt to represent to doctors, particularly in small towns and rural districts. Such is the weight of popular prejudice, that the doctor whose name is linked with venereal work runs the risk of losing a large part of his general patients.

The least creditable aspect of the situation is that the medical profession itself shares in this condemnation of its confreres. To his fellow physicians, just as to that part of the public that has no need of his services, the venereal practitioner is marked once and for all as a "clap doctor." One result of this situation is the widespread lack of up-to-date venereal information among doctors. Treatment is unnecessarily crude and painful, while much of the equipment used, particularly in the treatment of gonorrhea, belongs in a museum.

Paradoxical as it may seem, there is a latent tendency on the part of the medical profession to relegate syphilis and gonorrhea to the realm of moral delinquency. Thus very few reputable private hospitals open their doors to venereal patients. The explanation advanced stresses the highly contagious nature of venereal diseases. This claim, however, is offset by the fact that the same institutions readily treat syphilis and gonorrhea, provided that neither disease is listed as the primary cause of admission. A further reflection of this attitude will be seen in the findings of a recent survey of 54 accredited medical schools. A number of these institutions gave no more than two classroom sessions to syphilis before graduation. One well-known college gave one one-hour lecture to gonorrhea per medical course, while the majority no more than casually touched upon the subject. Only 12 of the 54 offered anything like thorough training in the venereal field. Such, in fact, is the odium of venereal diseases that even the highly unconventional denizens of Sing Sing prison, with a higher than average rate of infection, denied ever having had any.

A widespread reluctance to face the facts is evident in all fields of public endeavor. From September, 1935 to June, 1936, more than 500 children were excluded from New York City schools as carriers of syphilis and gonorrhea. Very little, however, is said in these same schools about the nature and effects of venereal disease, or, for that matter, anything else affecting sex. Case finding, too, is necessarily haphazard, since in no case do the required medical examinations for school children extend to tests for syphilis or gonorrhea. With a pure food and drug act covering most details of daily living, worthless prophylactics are nevertheless sold by the thousands every day over drug store counters.

Quacks and Their Victims

Between the high-priced specialists and the overcrowded clinics, there is a large and profitable no-man's land of quacks. It has been estimated that over $500,000,000 is spent each year in the United States on patent medicines and sure-cure remedies. Much of this money is drawn from the pockets of those afflicted with venereal diseases.

Playing upon the fears and superstitions of the public, quacks draw their customers through newspaper advertisements, handbills, form letters, and any other publicity media available to them. A favorite method of attracting customers is through "museums for men." These chambers of horror, with their crudely suggestive exhibits, are direct feeders for the quacks' offices upstairs. Many of these "clinics" are operated on the chain-store principle, under the supervision of one or more doctors. The usual inducement is free consultation and advice. The results of these consultations, however, are invariably positive, with fees for treatment ranging anywhere from $50 to $500, according to the patient's capacity.

"When a patient comes in, especially if he is a foreigner, the interpreter or case-

maker lands him," said the owner of one such clinic in Philadelphia. "Of course, the patient thinks the case-maker is the doctor. After making financial arrangements, he may turn him over to the real doctor—quite often he does. The treatment, however, depends upon what the patient can afford to pay. It is the case-maker's and the doctor's business to make him pay all the traffic will bear. It is a dirty business, but the costs are high and have to be met."

Frequently quacks have connections with loan sharks, who advance the cost of treatment at usurious rates of interest. Thus a victim of athlete's foot may pay hundreds of dollars plus untold mental anguish to be cured of a case of syphilis he never had.

Drug stores are among the worst offenders. In a survey of 858 drug stores from coast to coast, fully one-half offered to diagnose and cure syphilis and gonorrhea. The American Social Hygiene Association estimates that some 400,000 people apply each month for advice to 60,000 drug stores in the United States. Sixty-three per cent of the drug stores in Chicago offered to cure all forms of venereal disease without benefit of a doctor. Of 966 patients interviewed at eight different clinics in Birmingham, Chicago, Dallas, and rural communities in northern Oregon, fully 26 per cent had previously gone to drug stores, as against 25 per cent who had had medical assistance. The remaining 49 per cent had either practiced self-medication, or done nothing about it.

Another class of healers, most popular on the West Coast, are Chinese herbalists. Tree leaves, vegetable roots, rattle-snake skins, ground lizards, boiled lion claws, and powdered leopard hearts are their favorites. Diagnosis and cure are effected through the mails for ten dollars. To obtain a conviction against any of them is well-nigh impossible, because of the difficulty of getting anyone to testify that he was mistreated for a venereal infection.

One of the persistent notions about syphilis and gonorrhea is that they are the wages of sin. The fact is, however, that half of all venereal infections are thought to be transmitted in marriage. It is estimated that not more than one-quarter of infections originate with prostitutes, while the remaining 25 per cent, barring congenital and accidental cases, though unconventionally contracted, are generally thought to be transmitted under highly respectable auspices.

The Innocent Sufferers

Records of public pre-natal clinics show syphilis in eight to ten per cent of their patients. Treated before the fifth month of pregnancy, 95 per cent of infected mothers produce normal offspring. Nevertheless two per cent of all children born in the United States have congenital syphilis. Untreated infections of pregnant mothers today account for a large percentage of stillbirths and the persistently high rate of infant mortality. According to Dr. Stokes, 25,000 foetal deaths each year may be attributed to syphilis. A large part of syphilitic children born alive die before they are a year old. The rest live on for ten, twenty, or occasionally even thirty years, generally as public charges.

Gonorrhea does not affect the offspring until the moment of birth. A drop of silver nitrate introduced in the eyes at that time and for a few days thereafter will remove the danger of infection from the eyes. Even this simple precaution, however, is evaded often enough to make gonorrhea the leading cause of blindness in the newborn.

That the prostitute constitutes a very real problem in venereal control cannot be denied. With equal justice it may be added that the periodic drives to uproot vice have accomplished little more than to show a complete lack of realism on the part of certain reformers.

It is impossible to form an accurate

estimate of the trade in prostitution. In New York City over 3500 prostitutes passed through the Women's Court in 1935. The proletariat of their profession, some of these women were found to have served as many as 20 men a day. Eighty per cent of them were found to be carriers of venereal disease. The number of reinfections are impossible to determine, as few if any of them were ever cured of their original infection.

Throughout the country the sponsors of prostitutes are allied with doctors, to whom they refer their charges for weekly or bimonthly medical examinations. Charges for these services range anywhere from $3 to $10, the fees to be split between the doctor, or individual "bookie" or madam. Told that she is infected, a prostitute will pay and pay, to obtain the clean bill of health that will enable her to ply her trade. As often as not, an infection actually exists, in which case the customer must take his chances.

There has been much speculation of late concerning the connection between syphilis and crime, particularly of the violent, quasi-sexual variety. While it is undoubtedly true that paresis tends to destroy the victim's powers of judgment, the fact is that very few crimes of violence can be disposed of on this basis. At Sing Sing prison less than one per cent of condemned killers in 1936 were found to be suffering from syphilis, as against 32 per cent of all other prisoners admitted that year. The latter figure, however, represents the effect of early surroundings and ignorance, rather than the cause of crime. The only casual relationship between syphilis and crime would seem to be implied in the contention of several inmates that they stole to obtain the necessary funds for treatment.

Clearly syphilis and gonorrhea today are the outstanding public health problem in the United States. Means of prevention and cure are both at hand; the crying need is to create agencies for dispensing them.

What can be done through adequate control is amply demonstrated by the example of the three Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. With a combined population of 12,000,000, these countries have reduced their infection rate to 1600 new cases each year. The frequency of gonorrhea has been reduced by half in less than a generation.

The first step in any effective program of venereal control must be to remove syphilis and gonorrhea once and for all from the field of morality. Knowledge of prophylaxis will do more to wipe out these diseases than all the righteousness ever crammed between hard covers.

Departments of health should be removed from political control. Much of the present confusion may be traced to the fact that many health officials are appointed for their political acumen rather than their ability to handle public health problems.

Clinical and hospital care should be made available to all who need it. Clinical staffs should be made permanent, and should consist of graduates of reputable medical schools who have completed their interneship.

Sanitary regulations should be strictly enforced in all public institutions, including prisons. Inmates in infectious stages should be segregated and kept apart until danger of contagion is past.

Venereal disease is not a matter for private charity. A concerted attack by public agencies alone can stem its ravages, and protect the yet unaffected part of the population.

LET'S TRADE WITH BRITAIN

An agreement with England would have a stabilizing effect on world trade

By HARRY TIPPER

THE British Imperial Conference has a good deal of interest for us apart from its historic importance as the occasion at which independent nations hold themselves together in what is still called an "empire" by the community of historical background and common cultural, political and economic interests. It can be referred to, perhaps, as the current miracle of democracy, and indicates by the very effects of its conclusions the power arising out of free political cooperation, defined, though it is, by medieval symbolism.

The purpose of this article, however, is to draw attention rather to the economic importance of the discussions that are taking place as an aftermath of the Conference itself, dealing with the prosaic but no less difficult question concerning methods of trading, agreements on tariffs, preferences within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a trade agreement between Great Britain and the United States.

The dominating position of this country in world affairs is emphasized quite sharply by the fact that Great Britain felt it necessary to discuss the subject of this trade agreement with the British dominions when they were assembled for the conference. In no other case of a trade agreement has Great Britain consulted the dominions, unless informal discussions took place in connection with the renewal of the Argentine pact. It is also startling recognition of the fact that a trade agreement between two nations cannot be confined bilaterally in its effects. In fact, this is the particular reason for bringing the trade agreement prospect to the attention of the dominions for discussion. In one way or another the future of the dominions is involved, not merely in the effect which such an agreement might have upon their position in the British market but their own future relations with the United States.

Canada's position in support of a trade agreement between Great Britain and the United States cannot be related to the concessions that the United States would expect from Great Britain because it is an open secret that concessions for United States agricultural products would be required in some form or other in order to make an agreement possible. On this basis it might be expected that this dominion and Australia would be against the consummation of such an agreement. However, there are broader necessities with which the dominions are faced. Canada, as our northern neighbor, and Australia's position in the Far Eastern zone are confronted with future possibilities which will be seriously affected by the general British relations with the United States. These considerations would lead us into a discussion of matters outside the scope of this article, but even on trade matters there are more important considerations than a few agricultural concessions which might be given to the United States.

Trade with Canada is of such importance that it has been the subject of special consideration a number of times and eventuated in a separate trade agreement with that country a few months ago. This trade is not only substantial but is very vital to

the two countries, which have been accustomed to move back and forward across the long unfortified border materials and goods of all kinds. Furthermore, the peoples of the two countries have much the same outlook, the same general living requirements, and look forward to a material future similar in its scope and opportunity. To Canada, therefore, the significance of a trade agreement between the United States and Great Britain can hardly be overestimated.

In the case of Australia, the recent trade history would perhaps suggest that there was no ground for the Australians to favor such a matter, particularly as they have been exercising for some time very strong discriminatory measures against numerous products from the United States. It must be noted, however, that the value of the Australian crop of fine merino wool, which we must import for some of our domestic fabric requirements, would be increased if a reduction could be obtained on the tariff we impose on this product through a trade agreement between that country and ourselves. The existence of this very high tariff on Australian wool has long been a sore point with the Australians and they have been anxious to discuss a trade agreement with this country ever since the Trade Agreements Act was put into force. It is obvious, however, that we cannot discuss the question of a trade agreement with Australia, whose products are mainly agricultural, until or unless some agreement can be arrived at with Great Britain which will reduce the marked disparity between the free-trade movement of agricultural products from the British dominions and the tariff with which our own agricultural commodities are faced.

It is clear, too, that the South Africans are interested in anything which will continue their present prosperity, and inasmuch as this depends largely upon the gold price, any agreement which tended further to stabilize conditions between the British Commonwealth and ourselves would be economically advantageous to that territory. Furthermore, the direct trade from South Africa to the United States is very small and the disturbances to that trade have been largely eliminated by the recent action of the two governments in connection with the technical requirements for the importation of deciduous fruit.

A Division of Opinion

The British industrialists are, of course, quite happy with the present protectionist situation in Great Britain, particularly those in the south of England who have gained very largely from the higher prices required for imported products. That the British industrialists are not, however, in complete harmony in the matter is well exhibited by an examination of the opinion prevailing in the export industries in the north of England and the south of Scotland, which have been and are still suffering severely from the competitive situation in international trade and the existence of innumerable barriers to the movement of the goods. However, Birmingham, the home territory of the Chamberlains, and other sections that have benefited for the moment from Mr. Runciman's bilateral policies are strongly organized and are conducting a campaign of no mean proportions against giving away any of the advantages that they have secured.

The strong position that is usually occupied by the carrying trades of Great Britain, particularly the powerful shipping interests, does not seem to have made itself felt in this particular situation. These interests, however, are bound to suffer eventually by the strictly bilateral preferential policies which have distinguished the Runciman régime in British foreign trade. With more than 40 per cent of the world's shipping, and with investments in the carrying trades of other nations, the

British shipping industry has a large and important stake in multilateral trade, without which much of the movement that goes on from port to port would be eliminated or materially restricted.

Allied to this fundamental factor is the value of the warehousing and redistributing trade through the warehouses that line the many ports of the island. It is true that this trade is not of the extent or importance that it possessed before the War but the trans-shipment of commodities as they move in and out over the British shipping routes is still a considerable factor in the total economy of the country. This trade has been very seriously disturbed by the bilateral bartering and clearing arrangements that have tended to undermine the general multilateral flow.

More powerful than this factor, although not allied to it directly, is the financial leadership of the British capital which, before the War, provided a constant pool of exchange which could be drawn upon at all times. Bilateralism, unstable currency relations, barter and clearing arrangements are all inimical to the rehabilitation of this power. However, the experience and skill of the British in these matters will tend to maintain the leadership in their hands, and encouragement from the liberalization of trade and its freeing from some of the most crippling fetters would be of great service in this resuscitation.

Mutually Beneficial

From the strictly trade value standpoint the British Empire and the United States should be deeply concerned with getting their trade relations on a sound and permanent basis. The United States is the largest of all markets served by Great Britain and her dominions, and the British Commonwealth of Nations occupies a very large place in the purchase of goods from the United States. The trade is not only vital from its monetary value and variety but from its general composition of needed materials and commodities, without which the standards of living of all the areas involved would suffer seriously.

Furthermore, while Great Britain buys from us twice as much as we buy from her and our trade with other British territories is even more one-sided, our trade with the Empire is pretty close to a balance, the excesses in one area balancing opposite excesses in others. In fact, the account for the year 1936 shows a balance in excess for the British Empire of approximately $100,000,000. and over a series of years would show a much closer average balance.

The United States both buys and sells. So also do Great Britain and the Empire. Each receives and pays out dividends and interest. Americans own large investments in the Empire. Empire citizens (particularly British and Canadian) own great investments in the United States. Americans travel in large numbers, spending many millions in the Empire and are heavily indebted to Great Britain for shipping, cables, royalties, commissions, insurance, and so on. Out of the whole interchange, each profits greatly and to each the quantity and value are of vital importance.

Under these circumstances the necessity for planning these exchanges on a sound basis of written agreement seems obvious and it is equally obvious that an agreement with Great Britain is the center around which the remaining reciprocal arrangements may be grouped.

There are many difficulties in the way of bringing about such a valuable agreement. Industrialists in both countries oppose it for fear of losing some advantage they now possess. Agriculturists in the dominions and the United States examine the matter with suspicion. The bilateralists, who have developed the preferential program characterized by the name of the leader, "Runciman," will put off as long as possible the modification of this system, particularly as

it will necessitate not only drastic modification of those agreements consummated with countries outside the Empire but changes within the Empire. Finally, the difference in the viewpoint sponsored by our own State Department and the British Board of Trade may prove to be insurmountable.

One very important weapon lies to our hand, however, in pushing this matter forward. That weapon is the price of gold in dollars, which has benefited the British Empire so greatly. H. O. Chalkley, commercial counsellor of the British Embassy at Washington, in a report published by the Department of Overseas Trade in London, says: "On the trade and other interests of the United Kingdom, the effect of the economic policy followed by the United States since 1933 has been beneficial. Direct increases in our export and re-export trade to the U.S.A. . . . are appreciable but the indirect and invisible benefits which have accrued to the general commercial and financial interests of the United Kingdom are even more substantial. For these beneficial results, the monetary policy of the U.S.A. has proved in the event to be mainly responsible. . . . The high price placed on gold and unlimited purchases by the U.S.A. are largely responsible for the remarkable prosperity of the Union of South Africa and consequently for the share which the United Kingdom investments in, and exports to, South Africa have had in that prosperity. Similar triangular effects are traceable in the case of Australia, Canada, and India. Industrial recovery in the U.S.A. has led to a rise in prices and increased consumption of rubber, tin, cocoa, and other colonial products, with the same resultant advantages to United Kingdom investments and trade."

The Dominion Interests

South Africa, Australia, and Canada are all gold producers of importance. The anxiety of South Africa on the matter is well displayed in her demand for stabilization at present values. Canada is no less concerned. Rumors that we will lower the price of gold have played havoc with markets and brought out huge quantities of hoarded gold. We can make demands on the basis of our gold purchases and the overhanging possibility of a reduction in the price. Perhaps this factor has a good deal to do with the general tendency for the three gold-producing dominions—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—to favor the arrangement of an agreement with the United States, with the usual proviso that their own interests are not sacrificed.

That there is a general desire for a trade agreement in Great Britain seems justified from an examination of the attention and the public comment on the subject. Its importance is similarly appreciated in the United States. Under present circumstances there are many political reasons favoring the conclusion of such an agreement and in spite of the conflicting interests, the general opinion is that the matter will be finally arranged, although not without much backing and filling in the course of negotiations. It should be borne in mind that the present stage is still what is termed in diplomatic usage "exploratory" and no attempt has been made to consider an actual agreement. What has been going on at the Imperial Conference and is now being developed by the expert officials is the scope and ground upon which an agreement could be negotiated, and whether the various viewpoints can be harmonized sufficiently to give reasonable promise of success if formal negotiations are undertaken. For that purpose each country has submitted to the other the list of requests that would be made and which would form the groundwork for actual negotiation. The Conference was occupied mainly with what this country would expect and how it would affect the Ottawa pact and the interests of the individual dominions.

In the final analysis, this is one case where the general political advantages to the development of sound trade relations may outweigh the immediate trade difficulties and interests and build up a public demand for the successful conclusion of an agreement which the politicians will be unable to ignore, even though strong groups are disturbed and make their opposition felt.

Already, a portion of the serious press in England has opened up on the government with demands for action and elimination of the pressure groups from consideration, and instead of diminishing, this attack tends to grow. Foreign traders in the United States do not need to stress the matter particularly at this time, as they have continued from the beginning to stress the importance of negotiating and concluding the proper series of agreements with the Empire. Furthermore, the prospect of a trade agreement with Great Britain has called forth a definite chorus of approval as a vital step in the general stabilization of the conditions of international trade. Authorities have pointed out that the extent of the concessions is not so important as agreement on discriminations, preferences and other matters that disturb the general equality of treatment in the flow of goods and services.

A Hopeful Prospect

Certainly recovery—evident in most areas of the world—offers good background for such a movement and in spite of the doubts raised by the conflicting interests in the British Empire and here, the prospects of successful action are considered good, although likely to be slow. Probably at no time in the past has a single treaty negotiation contained so much potentiality for the future or come up at so difficult a stage in the political sphere.

The immediate conditions in Europe have continued to emphasize the advantage of close cooperation within the Empire and the protection of the mutual interests between the dominions and the mother country. While the Ottawa Pact has been unsatisfactory in many particulars, it is associated with a period that has shown a very substantial recovery, industrially and financially, in Great Britain and improvement in the dominions ranging from substantial recovery to a boom. On the other hand, the bilateral and preferential agreements demanded and secured by Runciman have had a sufficiently disastrous effect upon American business in some markets, within and without the Empire, to cause business groups to make demands upon our government that any agreement with Great Britain include substantial changes in this respect. The protected industrialists in both countries are afraid to give up any advantages and the general instability of the political situation does not encourage liberality.

Because of this difficulty, however, and partly because such an agreement would relate to so large a share in the world's trade, the conclusion of an arrangement between the United States and Great Britain, even if no substantial concessions were made, would have a profound stabilizing effect upon the future of international trade. Such an agreement would require the definition of other relations as well as tariffs and the undertaking not to disturb these relations without discussion. Instead of being on a twentyfour-hour basis, such an agreement would guard several of the most important factors relating to the movement of a major portion of the world's trade from sudden change without consultation.

The importance and the difficulty parallel each other, and for that reason the preliminary work is likely to be long and drawn out, but the pressure for a final conclusion of an agreement between the two countries can be expected to grow.

IBN SA'UD OF ARABIA

25 years ago he believed in conquests; Today, his first concern is for peace

By AMEEN RIHANI

THIS is the 37th year of Ibn Sa'ud's rule in the peninsula of Arabia and the 61st of his age. When he was an exile with his father in Kuwait, he dreamed of reconquering the Saudi principality of Najd, and in the dawn of this century, with a score of followers on mangy camels, he seized and occupied the capital Ar-Riyadh. A few years later, he conquered the Turks, who were still in occupation of Hasa, near the Persian Gulf, and forced them to evacuate that oasis. After that came the conquest of the two principal cities in Northern Najd, Aneza and Bureidah. That was before the World War, but two years after the armistice he besieged Haiel, the capital of Ibn ur-Rashid, in the northwestern mountains, and forced it to surrender. This marked the end of the house of Rashid and the beginning of his supremacy in Central Arabia.

Ibn Sa'ud is now the sole and independent ruler of three quarters of the Arabian peninsula, to which he has applied the name of his house; for his title today is King of Sa'udi Arabia, and as such he has been recognized by all the powers of Europe and the Near East.

For a quarter of a century the peninsula resounded with Ibn Sa'ud's conquests, and his Kingdom now extends from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf and from the mountains of Asir in the south to the frontiers of Trans-Jordan and Syria and Iraq in the north. For the last ten years, however, he has been pursuing a policy of peace. In his relations with other countries he has stressed diplomacy; at home, his efforts are directed along administrative and economic lines.

As the chief protagonist of the Pan-Arab movement, he is now complementing his conquests in the peninsula by alliance with the other independent Arab states. A clause in the treaty concluded between him and Iraq last year makes every independent Arab ruler eligible to become a signatory. Accordingly, the Imam Yahya, King of the Yaman, recently joined this alliance; Syria, perhaps also the Lebanon Republic, will follow.

This multilateral treaty forms the basis of an Arab confederation which Ibn Sa'ud is building as a foundation for an Arab empire. When the structure will be reared, after the foundation is completed, is a question. But the cardinal objective today is to consolidate the independent Arab states and to co-ordinate their foreign policy, as well as certain common interests in their economic and administrative development.

The British commitments of Ibn Sa'ud do not prevent him from pursuing, freely and unhampered, a policy of his own, which is essentially, as I have said, a policy of peace both in the internal and foreign affairs of the country. Accordingly, he maintains friendly relations with all the powers of Europe and the Near East. In his program of unification, however, he knows where the real difficulties lie, as well as where the advantages in the ever-changing game of international politics may be. He keeps himself well informed of the currents and cross-currents of world

affairs. Even the undercurrents are not always unknown to him. He has his own intelligence department, and he is in constant touch with the diplomatic representatives of the powers in Jeddah. He does not play them one against the other, however, as the Ottoman Sultans and Abdul Hamid used to do. Everyone of the diplomatic representatives will tell you that Ibn Sa'ud always means what he says. He has a frank and forthright manner, and he is often startling in his candor.

A Trusting Mind

I shall never forget his first words to me. I first met him in the autumn of 1922. It was a starlit night, in the open desert. The British authorities in Aden, India, and Iraq were not well disposed and were even hostile at first to my plan to venture into the Sa'udi territory. King Hussein frowned upon my desire, and my Arab friends in Baghdad and Basrah tried to dissuade me. But Ibn Sa'ud himself honored me with a letter of welcome. And his first words at that memorable meeting in the Hasa desert were characteristic of the man.

"We have many reports about you," this, with a smile. "They say that you have come to Arabia to preach Christianity among the Arabs, and they say that you represent certain American companies who seek concessions in Arabia, and they say that you are the friend and supporter of King Hussein, and they say that you are a British spy, and they say this, and they say that. But we say: if there is evil in the man, we know how to protect ourselves against it, and if there is good, we shall profit by it."

Ibn Sa'ud is one of the greatest Arabs that has appeared in Arabia since the days of the Prophet. This is not the opinion of native observers and admirers only, but also that of European scholars who have traveled in Arabia and European statesmen who are interested in Arabia's destiny.

And whether or not he succeeds in build-

European

IBN SA'UD: "Whether or not he succeeds in laying the cornerstone of an Arab empire, he will go down in history as a great Arab ruler."

ing the foundation and laying the cornerstone of an Arab empire, he will go down in history as a great Arab ruler, if only for the agricultural and social reform he has instituted in Najd and Hejaz. The population of Central Arabia, before his time, was mostly nomadic, and the tribes were always raiding and fighting each other. Ibn Sa'ud waged war against them all, pacified them, and brought them under his patriarchal rule.

Modernity Comes to Arabia

Then came the great reform. The nomadic tribes were persuaded and those who would not be persuaded were forced to abandon their "booths of hair" (desert tents) and build for themselves houses of some stability. They were pinned to the soil and gradually they took to the cultivation of the soil. The government allotted land near watering places and helped financially also in the building of new towns. This is what is called "the urbanizing movement." The roving raiding nomads were transformed into a settled population. The rapacious and destructive nomads were turned into peaceful and law abiding and productive communities. The first new town was founded in 1910, and there are today more than 200 new towns in Central Arabia.

This reform was introduced into the Hejaz, after it was conquered by Ibn Sa'ud in 1925. And into the new towns the automobile is making its way. When I first visited Arabia, there were but three cars in Jeddah, and they belonged to King Hussein. There are today in Sa'udi Arabia four or five thousand cars.

In 1922 there was not a single telegraph wire in Central Arabia. There are today in the Sa'udi Kingdom about 25 wireless stations. The resources of Arabia were still lying in the bosom of the sand-covered earth. But today three American and British companies are exploring for oil in Hasa and Asir and prospecting for gold in northern Hejaz. These enterprises have already justified the King's expectations. Oil has been struck at Hasa, and gold was found in the vicinity of the second holy city, Medina. But the most remarkable of all the modern developments in western civilization, is the radio station which, at this writing, is being established in the holy city of Mecca.

Despite all these innovations in transportation and communication, Ibn Sa'ud does not believe in high speed. A British squadron once anchored in Jeddah waters and the admiral was received by Ibn Sa'ud who returned the visit aboard ship on the following day. And when the guns and the machinery were being explained to the King, he asked about the ship's speed. "Twenty-three knots in normal times," he was told, "but in emergencies, it can be raised to thirty."

On the following day, Ibn Sa'ud gave a banquet to the admiral and his officers, and in his speech, referring to himself and his policy, he said: "We are like the battleship of the esteemed admiral. We go slow in normal times, but in an emergency, we can raise our speed."

WHAT ABOUT OUR SHIPS?

The problem confronting Joseph P. Kennedy has been maturing for more than 16 years

By GARDNER HARDING

ALL signs say that for the first time in six years, the United States is prepared to export wheat in substantial quantity. Rising prices, good weather, and heavy plantings offer us a possibility of shipping something more than 150 million bushels of our once prime export. This is more than five times our actual average wheat exports for the past five years. Conditions in the other wheat exporting countries are such that if we succeed in marketing this wheat we will become the world's largest wheat exporting nation.

It takes an extraordinarily flexible system of transportation to accommodate such sweeping variations in our farm production as we are experiencing today. And this export wheat must be carried abroad in ships, mostly modest and unknown freight ships of an average tonnage of less han one-tenth that of the *Queen Mary* or he *Normandie*. With wheat now hopefully elling at $1.20 a bushel, a great responsiility rests on those very unspectacular ittle boats.

Of course, wheat, like many other comodities, may be carried in foreign ships. 7e willingly pay a freight and insurance ill today, together with other correspondg charges and advantages, for the carriage about two-thirds of our products to d from foreign markets by foreign ships. it ever since the war period we have sucssfully maintained a policy of carrying absolute minimum of our foreign freight our own ships.

For twenty years we have considered this share an indispensable margin of safety and necessity to the United States. Two stark and dramatic lessons confirmed us in that belief. In 1914, when foreign fleets carried more than 90 per cent of our foreign trade to market, we experienced what has since come to be known as a synthetic depression, totally mysterious and unaccountable at the time to most Americans. With high prices, bumper crops and full-time production prevailing, and war needs providing an eager market, we suddenly found ourselves in the midst of a winter of unemployment, bread lines, business failures, and bank suspensions. This dislocation continued for almost exactly the time while the foreign ships, called home in the first months of the war, ceased to provide the indispensable link with the rest of the world they had given us so long and so unobtrusively. When they returned, with the rubber, tin, and steel alloys, and wool and coffee we needed, ready to remove the congestion of wheat, cotton, tobacco, and American manufacturers which crowded the piers of every American port, we breathed again. And three years later we embarked on the building of an American merchant marine that would definitely prevent this particular chain of circumstances from ever happening again.

The other lesson came in 1926, when the famous 18-million bale cotton crop, next to the largest we ever harvested in the United States, coincided with the turbulent summer of the British coal strike. The British ships found higher profits that sum-

mer carrying coal to Newcastle, as so did many of the other foreign ships. Rates for carrying cotton from New Orleans threatened to advance alarmingly. But we had ships then in reserve. The United States Shipping Board placed 50 vessels on berth, and the cotton crop was moved—at no increase in freight rates—on American ships. It has scarcely ever been necessary since that time to preach the need south of Mason and Dixon's Line for an American merchant marine.

With not only a record wheat crop to move, but with the largest foreign trade since 1930 in full swing, how, then, has this margin of our economic safety survived the depression? The answer is that our merchant marine has once again lost ground alarmingly to every other important nation. With the exception of a brief spurt of reconstruction and replacement in 1928, it is virtually the same as it was in 1921. Engine speeds per unit of consumption of fuel are what you might expect, recalling what Americans have themselves accomplished in this period with the engineering of the automobile. The usual estimate is that ships built within the past eight years give fully 50 per cent greater service at the same expenditure of fuel.

Although other nations whose lines serve American ports have built more than 800 brand new ships between 1921 and 1928, we did not add a single replacement. We began to build new ships in 1928, completing 35 first class boats before the depression stalled the program. With a combined tonnage of 370,000 tons these new vessels were as soundly and seaworthily built as the ships of any merchant fleet in the world. But even with the additional 270,000 tons that were reconditioned, they were only a small fraction of what had to be done to bring the American deep-sea carrier of passengers and freight up to average modern efficiency.

And while our international fleet in apparent size ranks fourth, behind England, Japan, and Germany in that order, it ranks far lower than that in actual service value to American travel and industrial needs. Only a little more than half of our fleet can make the very modest speed of 12 knots. and France and Holland dispute even fourth place with us in that vital element of modern transportation by sea. In age of ships—and this has a profound bearing on cost of operation—we are in eighth place, with Italy and Norway qualifying with the nations mentioned above as being more nearly up to date than ourselves. And in ships now on the ways, omitting the purely industrial classes of tankers and the like, we stand far down at the bottom of the list. We have built only two freight ships since 1921. Greece, Poland, even Spain, have built more little ships which carry the big freight, than we have during the past sixteen years. These are the vessels upon which the American farmer is going to depend to carry his grain to market this fall, carrying the major part of six billion dollars worth of our foreign trade.

Mr. Kennedy at the helm

It was with this deplorable condition in mind that the Administration cast loose last year from all previous methods of stimulating the American merchant marine and set up a new body, the United States Maritime Commission, under the competent direction of Joseph P. Kennedy, the former director of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Mr. Kennedy's job is not easy. He not only has to develop a coherent and practical shipping policy, but must found a stable regime which from year to year will develop American shipping.

What can be done and what is being done? In the first place, the most welcome news is that building is beginning again. The Shipping Act of 1936 broke precedent

and provided for outright subsidies, based on the difference of operation between American and competitive foreign ships. We operate 42 trade routes of sufficient importance to carry mail, 33 of these having already made agreements with the new Commission as to the operating subsidy necessary to maintain the trade. The new subsidy is about two-thirds the amount the lines received under the old mail subsidy plan and will cost the Government about twenty million dollars a year. But without new ships no amount of subsidy can keep these lines in operation. The new program calls for an outlay of close to 500 million dollars over the next five years. It should produce, built or building by that time, up to a million and a half tons of new shipping. One-third of it should be, if present plans are carried out, the familiar combination passenger and freight types which were so successfully constructed in the 1928 program. And two-thirds of it should be replacements for the worn-out little freight ships which have done such splendid service over the past sixteen years, the backbone of any important nation's merchant navy.

An entirely new element in this government aid is the provision by which the American shipowner may order ships designed and built in American shipyards and pay for them at the comparable foreign cost of the ship. The government not only finances in most cases more than 60 per cent of the cost of the ship but meets this differential directly. It is the best arrangement American shipowners or shipbuilders have ever had.

Yet the picture is by no means entirely hopeful one. The present crisis is the most serious American shipping has faced nce the war. The fact that it has arisen all, that for six years past we have been e only important nation in the world not ilding ships, leads to the surmise that an ormous number of Americans have fortten that we have the most extensive and valuable coast line in the world, and that by ignoring it as a source of wealth and trade we are committing a mistake we may easily, unless some stern reminder comes to us, fall into again.

A Depression Anomaly

For while this long deferred action is at last being taken in defense of our foreign shipping, our domestic shipping business, which can fall back on no subsidies but which pays the same wage rates and maintains the same labor standards, is steadily losing ground in the midst of general recovery. Trucks are doing a business this year of more than 600,000 tons a month in the United States, over 20 per cent better than a year ago. Railroads, with the aid of lower passenger rates and door-to-door pick-up of freight, are also improving their gross business. Trans-Atlantic travel is approaching another record season with an improvement over 1936 of 22 per cent for the first six months.

Only coastwise shipping lines seem to be going out of business. Three old-established lines to New England have closed their piers in New York within a year. On the Pacific Coast no important port-to-port passenger service still runs. The Great Lakes Transit Corporation has tentatively restored its Buffalo-Chicago service, but general freight and passenger business is scarcely half what it was in 1929. The same is true of the Gulf and the Mississippi. The only new line recently is that from New Orleans to Houston, and it is composed of barges.

Taking into account the enormous sums of money spent to deepen harbors, perfect interior waterways, and otherwise utilize our incomparable coast line, the decay of our coastwise shipping is a matter which deserves the urgent and immediate attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Ships are not being replaced; there are only two new ships since the war on all

our coastwise lines, and these were wrung out of a shipbuilding company at bargain rates at the depth of the depression.

The exception to this rule is intercoastal traffic through the canal, in which the rush of business following the strike is now producing a record east-west traffic for all time, and close to record return cargoes from the Pacific. The only ships the government has sold from its idle fleet this year are entering this trade. But this is but a fraction of our domestic shipping. The general picture is not only disturbing in itself, but is bound to affect directly the program of replacing our ships for the foreign trades. For just as a high rate of production for domestic use permits us to sell our manufactured goods abroad at competitive prices, so in the reverse the absence of a corresponding "cushion" of domestic shipbuilding throws a disproportionate burden on ship costs for foreign trade routes.

Making Peace with Labor

Labor troubles are likewise far from settlement. With the perfection of the plans of the National Maritime Union, with its aggressive west coast leadership, we may some day look to a combination of longshoremen, warehousemen, and all ship ratings on sea and shore duty with a possible membership of over 400,000 men. With the C.I.O. squarely in this picture, hard bargains may yet have to be struck which, under the present subsidy system, will come directly from the taxpayers. The only solution seems to be that found by the Railway Mediation Board in this country, or in the British Maritime Board in England, by which permanent and experienced councils of arbitration have succeeded in warding off strikes for 16 and 25 years respectively, with the absolute minimum of governmental interference.

One thing is certain, however, in this country. Only the government can provide the wherewithal to make certain that American ships will be built and operated for our international trade. But this is no gross anomaly. It is an open question whether we could make steel or cotton goods in our present volume of production without the shelter of a tariff wall. If every other nation refrained from subsidizing its shipping the nature of the competition would, in any case, be easier to calculate; but no other nation, without exception, will take that risk. The hazard must, therefore, be a vital one for the piper to be so generally and so ungrudgingly paid. The only difference between ourselves and other nations is that they pay punctually and regularly, while we pay at long intervals, and then when it is almost too late.

No one envies Mr. Kennedy his job. Yet few Americans have a greater opportunity; first, to formulate a policy to re-establish the American merchant marine, and secondly, to develop a regime which shall ensure that no such emergency as the present shall ever occur again.

THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

Current history in the world of the arts

By V. F. CALVERTON

ONE of the most arresting and exciting developments in the cultural field today is the attempt France and Germany are now making to eliminate national prejudice from their respective history books. "No more Lies in the History Books" is the slogan which has become familiar and popular among the pedagogues of both nations. A semi-official agreement has been reached between Paris and Berlin, the London *Evening Standard* reports, to the effect that the schools of both countries are "to stop teaching lies about each other to children in the schools." In comment upon the agreement, the *Evening Standard* declares:

> This little heralded agreement may do more to improve relations between the two countries than a whole flood of speeches by statesmen or a dozen treaties which neither side trusts. For if the children of Germany and France can be taught to respect, instead of to hate, each other the greatest obstacle to a friendly understanding will have been removed.

The agreement in question was drawn up n Paris in 1935, but it is only now that 's effects are being noticed. The agreement 'as made by a committee made up of deleates from the respective associations of istory teachers in the two countries. The rench and German governments have been oprized of everything the Committee has one in its academic negotiations. The ıal agreement of detailed procedure is 'll incomplete. The agreement consists 39 articles, and several of them are still dispute. The recommendations made in ı agreement are not binding on either rty, but it is understood that both will everything in their power to put them o effect. Both groups promise to recommend their findings to the school authorities and to the writers and publishers of history books and to utilize every means at their disposal to see that they are carried out in practice.

The Alsace-Lorraine Issue

The Alsace-Lorraine issue naturally caused considerable difficulty. After lengthy discussion, the members of the Committee agreed "to recognize that Alsace, a country of German language and culture during the Middle Ages and at the time of the Reformation conserved its linguistic character after 1648, but that the revolution of 1789 caused it to enter definitely into the community of French life." The Committee added that teachers in Germany should take into account the French view on the subject and cease representing Alsace-Lorraine as a purely German territory. The Committee also went so far as to recommend that French textbooks should give the reasons which justified, in the eyes of the Germans, the annexation of Alsace in 1871.

In Article 10, concerned with the World War, both sides confessed errors and exaggerations which they consented to modify and mitigate in the future. The French agreed that their textbooks over-emphasized the importance of the Pan-German movement, and the Germans agreed that their history books exaggerated the importance of the French spirit of revenge after 1871. They both agreed that war-like tendencies existed in all European countries before the outbreak of the World War and they recognized that no single country was responsible for the disaster which resulted. In this connection, the Committee was particularly concerned with urging that all teachers of

history and writers of history textbooks avoid "whipping up passions by means of polemics."

Soviet & American History Distorted

Apropos of such a development, which every progressive mind must applaud, it is tragic to think of how specific countries distort and disfigure their own historic traditions. Almost any country would suffice as an example in that connection. The two countries which spring to mind first, however, are Soviet Russia and the United States. In Soviet Russia today, for example, history is being re-written to satisfy the dictates and demands of the Stalin régime. The October Revolution has already been so distorted that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. Trotsky, who along with Lenin was a leader of the Revolution, is blotted out from the pages of historical record, and Stalin, who played a most inconspicuous part in the revolution, is exalted into a great hero. All the early period of the Revolution is being so garbled that it will take years on the part of historical scholars in the future to distinguish reality from legend. The recent purges in Soviet Russia, which have been of such a horrendous variety that they have alienated many of its best friends, have increased the tendencies toward historical dishonesty on the part of Soviet scholars. The terroristic suppression of everything in the Soviet Union which suggests freedom of opinion, or divergence from the prevailing régime, has resulted in the creation of historians who are nothing more than intellectual yes-men in their approaches and conclusions.

The newest purge has been in the libraries, where "the campaign for political purity" has raced to such fanatical and fantastic extremes that no librarian, no scholar, no research-worker can consider himself free from attack if he is not willing to repudiate truth for expediency—and expediency in Soviet Russia today means backing everything the Stalin régime supports, endorses, and defends. A recent editorial in the Soviet publication *Communist Education* states that many librarians have been loath to remove from their libraries books by various persons known and convicted as enemies of the Soviet State. Among such enemies are listed various leaders who have been executed by the Stalin régime since last August when the first of the Soviet trials was staged. Six hundred people, according to H. N. Brailsford, have been executed since those trials began, and among those have been most of the founders of the Soviet régime. A librarian would have to be an intellectual Houdini to be able to ferret out of his shelves all the volumes, tracts, treatises, pamphlets, reports, statements, and what not, written by such persons, for instance, as Radek, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky, and many others, including various playwrights and novelists who have fallen under the Soviet bann in recent months.

The situation in the United States is not so grave. As a matter of fact, it is not a case of censorship at all. It is a matter of sectionalism, of sectional prejudice and bigotry. It finds its best illustration in those parts of the textbooks which deal with the American Civil War. The textbooks used in the Northern and most of the Western States account for the War as a struggle "to save the Union" and "emancipate the slaves," and paint the Northern cause in heroic and glorified colors, with Lincoln apotheosized as saint and martyr. Most of the textbooks used in the Southern States, on the other hand, envision the struggle as one of "States rights," interpret the War in moral terms, condemn the Northerners as invaders and defend the Southerners as upholders of a noble cause, and excoriate Lincoln as a knave and a fiend, or at best as a willing tool of the financial interests.

If the teachers of history in the Northern and Southern States got together the way the French and German teachers have done, it might be possible to save American children from a great deal of the mis-information and mis-education from which they now suffer. Fortunately, we have no Stalin

—nor a Mussolini or a Hitler—to command us to rewrite our history in accordance with his dictates, but we do have passions and prejudices which are equally blinding in another fashion, and which result in distortions of fact scarcely less pathetic or egregious.

The Paris Exposition

In addition to the work which French and German teachers are undertaking in an attempt to foster a more friendly spirit between their respective nations, there is the Paris Exposition, which many people believe will achieve the same end with greater expedition. The Exposition, which was opened a few months ago, is a most pacific affair. It aims to cultivate the friendliest feelings between the peoples of the various nations which attend it. Little that is military is to be seen in the multitudinous buildings which constitute the main attractions of the Exposition. One would never suspect, walking through the German building, for example, that Germany was concerned with armaments or the possibilities of war. What is on display in the German building are implements and inventions of a constructive and not of a destructive variety. The same is true in the other buildings: the French, the Russian, the Italian, the Canadian, the English, the American.

Oddly enough, the Russian and the German buildings face each other, each on opposite sides of the main thoroughfare, which is embellished and illumined with arc-lights and iridescent fountains. The German building is large, stately, and rich with a quiet magnificence reminiscent of the Kaiserian tradition. Inside, the same tone of subdued elegance prevails. The building is replete with German products of every variety, from vast, portentous airplanes and motor transports of different types, racers, speed cars, and passenger vehicles, to minute examples of needlework, glasswork, leatherwork, tapestry design, and many other techniques and crafts. In addition, there are paintings, statues, busts, illustrative maps in luminous colors,

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photographs in subtle tints, and divers types of mural decoration and design.

What is most surprising about the German exhibit is the conspicuous absence of pictures, statues, or busts of Hitler, Goering, or other Nazi leaders. Hitler's face can be discovered on post-cards, and, on one design, which is far from prominent, he can be seen entering an automobile. Otherwise, the whole exhibit might just as easily represent that of pre-War Germany or pre-Hitler Germany—that is, with one exception, namely, that interwoven into the design of the building, into its illustrative materials and decorative effects, is the ubiquitous swastika. The swastika is the first thing seen in the stone of the building, in the glass structures, in the wall ornamentation, in the ceiling designs, in the

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floor embellishments, and it is the last thing seen on the roof terrace from which Paris stretches out like a vast Hollywood set losing itself in the gnarled distance into which suburbs, parks, and houses sink.

Facing the German building is the Russian building, on top of which are two figures, a man and a woman, both toilers, sickle in hand, flung skyward. They are a powerful pair, defiant in gesture, triumphant in challenge. They represent the most impressive combination of art and propaganda that can be found in the whole Exposition. Inside the building, however, that impressiveness becomes less promising and luminous. Automobiles are shown which an American mechanic would sneer at; machinery is displayed that a technician would smile at; works in various techniques and crafts are presented that other countries would hesitate to exhibit. They are interesting only in the sense that they show how superior the Soviet Union is in productivity to Tsarist Russia. They are not interesting when compared with the products of more advanced countries.

The only aspect of the whole Russian exhibit which is arrestingly and commandingly impressive is the theatre section, where miniature stages, with subtle lighting effects, are a joy to watch and manipulate. There the Russians display a superiority which is indisputable.

The worst aspect of the whole Russian exhibit is its bad taste in displaying on every side and in every alcove, in the front and in the back, the figure and face of Stalin. Stalin is everywhere. There is a picture of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. There are several other pictures of Lenin and one bust of him. But there are at least eleven pictures of Stalin (I counted that many), and each in the most conspicuous places in the building, and finally, there stands, at the very back of the building, on a pedestal, overlooking and crowning all, a full-size statue of Stalin.

Nietzsche and the Jews

Although the Nazis, in their display at the Paris Exposition, were more sagacious and diplomatic than the Russians in "playing down" the dictator-psychology, with its *uebermensch* implications, they have revealed no such sagacity or diplomacy in Germany in their treatment of people or ideas. In the recent dispute about Nietzsche, for example, Goebbels descends to the most puerile extremes in a futile attempt to prove that Nietzsche was a forerunner of Nazism. It was the recent publication of Kurt von Westernhagen's book, *Nietzsche, Jew and Anti-Jew*, which caused Goebbels to leap on the soapbox and denounce everyone and anyone who dared to suggest that Nietzsche was not the spiritual father of Hitler. In Goebbels' paper, the *Volkische Beobachter*, he attacked Westernhagen's book as a "distortion and falsification of an intellectual forerunner."

Westernhagen, a young, scientifically curious Nazi philosopher, discovered, as all students of Nietzsche knew long before, that Nietzsche was a great admirer of the Jews and was opposed to the racial doctrines of the Nazis, and, what is more, preferred the Poles to the Germans. Goebbels, who has been boosting Nietzsche and his "Superman" philosophy, could not tolerate Westernhagen's heretical interpretation, and concern is now being felt as to what will happen to Westernhagen and his book.

Jewish Marxist Art

As part of Goebbels' campaign against Westernhagen's interpretation of Nietzsche's pro-Semitic attitude, the Nazis put on an exhibition in Munich of Jewish Marxist art work, to make people see "with shuddering and horror to what depths art fell in Germany and what great effort was necessary to find a way out of this chaotic confusion." The worst possible paintings and the most impossible sculpture were chosen to illustrate the Jewish influence, and to recall the days when "results of mental illness and dementia were judged as art."

On the day following this exhibition of "the chamber of horrors," as the Jewish Marxist exhibition was described by

Goebbels, Hitler opened up another art exhibit, a new "house of German art," devoted to Nazi cultural ideas. In introducing Hitler upon that occasion, Goebbels declared that "his artistically conducted statecraft places him foremost among all German artists. Exhibits in this new house of German art will show sound progress of true art under Nazi rule with promise of the great future which is to come."

German newspapers throughout the nation hailed the exhibit as one of revolutionary significance. *The Berliner Boersen-zeitung und Boersen-Courier* stated:

> The 18th of July 1937 will go down in German history not only as a new day for German art but for the German view of life in its entirety. Henceforth young people will be able to judge and appreciate German art from a very high cultural plane.

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* declared that the exhibit achieved "the liberation of German art from the tyranny of sadism and the creation through Hitler and the National Socialist regime of a truly national art."

George Grosz in the Chamber of Horrors

Among the artists placed in the "chamber of horrors" are George Grosz, whom Thomas Craven, the well-known American art critic, considers one of the greatest artists of our era, and Oscar Kokoschka who is almost as distinguished. It is altogether unlikely that any of the artists who exhibited in the "house of German art" possessed the genius of Grosz and Kokoschka, but that fact was of slight concern to the German critics who reviewed the exhibition. Professor Adolf Ziegler, who, after Hitler, delivered the main address, prior to the opening of the exhibition, denounced the Groszs and Kokoschkas as indecent, filthy, and diseased. Following Hitler's words, he too declared that German art would banish modernism, futurism, dadaism, and all other isms—except Germanism which was the only *ism* that had a right to endure.

***MOST UNPOPULAR STAR:** An English questionnaire elicited the information that Mae West is the cinema public's enemy No. 1.*

In an attempt to add the final touch to the whole situation, Goebbels averred that the only reason that German art had succeeded in overthrowing its Jewish vestiges and purging itself of its morbific mentality was because "the Fuehrer has shown us the right way." Hitler, Goebbels added, was the "master-builder."

Mae West as "Least Liked" Star

Turning away from such absurd and morbid matters, it is interesting to note that in England Mae West and then Charlie Chaplin are the most *unpopular* figures among London cinemagoers.

It was in the answers to the questionnaire sent out by Sidney L. Bernstein, the English picture house magnate, that that fact was discovered. In addition to Mae West, for instance, there were a number of other *disliked* ladies of the screen, to wit: Greta Garbo, Katharine Hepburn, Joan Crawford, Constance Bennett, and even Bette Davis.

Among the actors disliked, in addition

to Chaplin are: James Cagney, Ralph Lynn, and Laurel and Hardy.

Among the actresses best liked, for instance, are: Norma Shearer, Myrna Loy, Ginger Rogers, Claudette Colbert, Shirley Temple, Kay Francis, and Jean Arthur. Among the actors best liked are: Gary Cooper, who heads the list, Clark Gable, Charles Laughton, Robert Taylor, Ronald Colman, William Powell, Franchot Tone, George Arliss, Fredric March, Robert Donat, Leslie Howard, and Fred Astaire.

Since 1932, when a similar questionnaire was issued, Gary Cooper has jumped from 27th place to first; Clark Gable, second in 1934, has held his place; Charles Laughton has advanced from ninth to third place since 1934; Clive Brook has dropped from fourth to 36th; George Arliss from first to eighth; John Boles from sixth to 26th. Maurice Chevalier, fifth in 1932, and Charlie Chaplin, once the leader of them all, are not even among the first fifty.

The sexual aspect of the choices is also interesting as a gauge to English cultural opinion in the cinematic field. Gary Cooper and Ronald Colman are popular with both sexes and all ages. Clark Gable is more popular with women under twenty-one and over sixty; 61 per cent of Charles Laughton's followers are men and 89 per cent of Robert Taylor's are women, more than half of them under twenty-one. Oddly enough, Norma Shearer, who heads the list for the third time, is more popular with women than men. Myrna Loy, who jumps from 21st place to second, and Ginger Rogers, are more popular with men than women. It is also surprising to note, in the light of his exceptional popularity in the States, how definitely James Cagney is disliked in England.

The most popular type of film in England is the "thriller," with musical and society pictures next.

Actors and actresses that English filmgoers want to see starred are: Helen Broderick, Una Merkel, Patsy Kelly, Glenda Farrell, Eric Blore, Arthur Treacher, and Rene Ray.

It is revealing in that connection that American moving-picture critics have selected for this year a number of actors and actresses who are not listed among either the best liked or the most disliked in terms of English opinion: Spencer Tracy, Edward G. Robinson, Robert Montgomery (for *Night Must Fall*), Paul Muni, Luise Rainer.

Without doubt, the American cinema, despite British criticism, has improved greatly this year, and with such films as *Kid Galahad*, *Night Must Fall*, *Theodora Goes Wild*, and *The Good Earth*, there can be no question but that the cultural level of the American film today is head and shoulders over that of English, Russian, German, or French films.

THE REALM OF SCIENCE

PSYCHIATRY, contrary to the popular opinion, does not consist exclusively of the probing of the subconscious mind in the fashion started by Dr. Sigmund Freud and his school of psychoanalysis.

Instead, the method by which the great majority of psychiatric patients are treated today deals with the obvious features of the conscious mind. You will have to add a new word to your vocabulary if you wish the name of this method. It is called "psychobiology."

The name for the therapy was coined by Dr. Adolph Meyer, director of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of Johns Hopkins Hospital. As is obvious, the word is a union of "psychology" and "biology." and serves to remind that psychology cannot be separated from the rest of the science of life.

The present widespread use of psychobiology is described by Dr. Leland E. Hinsie, professor of clinical psychology in the Columbia University School of Medicine. who has prepared a monograph upon the subject for the Columbia University Press.

"There is, properly speaking, no school of psychobiology in the sense that there is one of psychoanalysis, of analytical psychology, or of individual psychology," Dr. Hinsie explains. "Objective psychobiology appears to be a research attitude rather than a so-called school of thought. It is a mode of study particularly wide in its interests. It apparently includes every possible branch of research into the behavior of the individual. Its many subdivisions include medicine, psychology, sociology, and anthropology.

"The aim of psychobiology is to treat the patient in accordance with the external facts that constitute and have constituted the patient's entire career. It is hoped to gain a clear and comprehensive picture of the individual from his earliest years up to the time that he appears for treatment. This picture is made up almost exclusively of the obvious, patent, conscious, and unrepressed features of the personality.

"It includes a careful estimate of the good features, of the features that have proved valuable to the patient and to his associates and it enables the psychiatrist to measure the intensity and extensity of personality possessions that have been undesirable to the patient or to his associates.

"Treatment comprises the introduction of such measures as serve to build up, to reinforce, to solidify the patient's integrative and constructive functions. As far as possible, the reality is made clear to the patient and he is carefully guided toward it, the assumption being that he has sufficient interest and energy to fix his impulses upon it."

Readers will note that psychobiology differs sharply from psychoanalysis by its interest in the "obvious, patent, conscious, and unrepressed features of the personality." Psychoanalysis, as is well known, seeks to explore the subconscious in an effort to discover the causes of inhibitions, repressions, and complexes.

"Psychoanalysts remove liabilities," Dr. Hinsie says. "Psychobiologists build up assets."

In the opinion of Dr. Hinsie, psychoanalysis has a limited field of application, despite the fact that it often obtains brilliant and amazing results.

"It is usable in a mere fraction of the total number of psychoneurotic individuals who seek it," he continues. "Requirements such as time and expense place this form of treatment beyond the reach of the majority. As it stands today, it is of little public service therapeutically. I would add, however, that under given conditions it is a remarkable therapeutic agent and

that it is a great personal service to a relatively small group."

The nation today is faced by a shortage of medical men trained for the handling of psychiatric cases, in the opinion of Dr. Hinsie.

"There are far more patients seeking psychiatric treatment than there are physicians qualified to handle them," he says.

Hope for Mental Cases

While some psychiatrists are inclined to be pessimistic and to believe that every type of mental case from the mild neurosis to the disabling forms of insanity are on the increase, others are inclined to be more optimistic.

Perhaps the greatest harm is done by the pernicious notion held by many people that mental diseases are incurable and that the person who is committed to a hospital for mental diseases is doomed.

On the contrary, a survey just completed by Dr. Carney Landis, assistant professor of psychology in the Columbia University School of Medicine, shows that four out of every 10 patients admitted to an American hospital for mental diseases are subsequently discharged as completely recovered or sufficiently improved to warrant their return to society.

An interesting fact is that the chances of recovery depend upon the type of insanity, the age of the patient, and the sex.

"Each psychosis seems to have its own improvement rate," Dr. Landis says. "For every 100 patients admitted with senile dementia, approximately 10 are discharged as recovered or improved. For cerebral arteriosclerosis, the rate is 15 per 100; for general paresis, 20 per 100; for dementia praecox, 40 per 100; for manic-depressive insanity, 65 per 100; and for psychopathic personality, alcoholic insanity, and psychoneurosis, 67 to 75 per 100."

Younger patients have a better chance for recovery than do older patients. For every 100 patients admitted between the ages of 20 and 25, 50 will be discharged as ameliorated, Dr. Landis says. Between the ages of 25 and 55, the rate of recovery varies from 46 to 41 per 100. Between 55 and 60, it is 38 per 100. Between 60 and 65 it is 32 per 100. Between 65 and 70, it is 23 per 100, while for those over 70 it is only 10 per 100.

Women seem to have a better chance than men. For every age group between 20 and 65, the chances of recovery are from three to five per 100 greater for women than men.

"This is usually attributed to the fact that women are more susceptible to manic-depressive insanity and involutional melancholia, which have relatively higher amelioration rates, while men are more susceptible to dementia praecox which has a low amelioration rate," he explains.

Manic-depressive insanity is the type in which the patient alternates between periods of mania or abnormal excitement and periods of melancholy. Dementia praecox is a progressive mental weakness characterized by loss of reason, loss of memory, hallucinations, etc.

Insulin Shock Treatment

Meanwhile the insulin shock treatment for dementia praecox, also known as the Sakel hypoglycemic therapy after its discoverer, Dr. Manfred Sakel of Vienna, continues to gain new triumphs.

In this department in the March issue of *Current History*, I reported that a number of New York institutions were using this treatment with success. It consists in giving the patient an overdose of insulin, depleting his blood sugar to such an extent that collapse and coma ensue.

The patient is then brought out of the coma. Strangely enough, the shock seems to improve his mental condition.

The Columbus (O.) State Hospital instituted this treatment on June 1. Seven weeks later, one patient, a young woman, was pronounced cured and released from the hospital. Three others were reported upon the road to recovery.

Why the treatment works, no one knows. One theory is that in dementia praecox, "wrong connections" are established in

the brain so that a visual stimulus is interpreted as a voice, and so on. The insulin shock is thought to break down these wrong connections.

The Father of Radio

The death of Guglielmo Marconi recalled the pioneer days of radio when broadcasting had not yet been invented and the term "wireless" was in general use. Marconi has been truly called the "father of radio." and no honor paid to his name in this respect can be too great.

Maxwell predicted the existence of radio waves. Heinrich Hertz discovered them, and for many years thereafter they were known as Hertzian waves. Sir Oliver Lodge and other scientists experimented with them in the laboratory, but it took Marconi, then a youth of 21, to visualize the possibilities of a wireless telegraph and to carry out the necessary work to bring that dream true.

The world owes much indeed to the vision of Guglielmo Marconi, a great scientist and a great Italian.

The African Dust Bowl

America's experience with the "dust bowl" of the West is foreshadowed by what happened in Africa 25,000 years or so ago. The African deserts, it is now believed by scientists, were the results of a drying up process.

Africa was once covered with a great unbroken forest, says Dr. Herbert Friedmann of the Smithsonian Institution. The present dense jungles are survivals of the primeval wilderness while the vast Sahara and Kalahari deserts, as well as the great steppe and savannah areas of East Africa are of much more recent origin.

This change in African conditions accounted for the introduction of Asiatic animals and birds. Once the drying up process had started, open country fauna began to cross over from Asia. This exodus from the Asiatic steppes to the African grasslands was a very rapid one and of a magnitude without parallel in other regions of the world.

Flying Robots Used

Robot weather observers, carried aloft by pilot balloons, will be used by the U. S. Weather Bureau to radio the first news of cold weather bound for America from the North Pole. The robots, known officially as radiometeorographs, will be sent up from the weather station at Fairbanks, Alaska. By this new method, Dr. W. R. Gregg, chief of the U. S. Weather Bureau, hopes to increase the speed and accuracy of weather reports.

Cold waves, bound for America, sweep down from the polar regions, passing at high altitudes over Alaska. Their arrival can be predicted if conditions over Alaska are known.

The radio meteorograph consists of a special type of thermometer, barometer, and hygrometer, connected to a small automatic radio transmitter.

As it ascends into the sky, it broadcasts its readings to the weather observer who "listens in" on the ground.

About Chinese Civilization

It is a mistake to suppose that Chinese civilization is older than that of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, according to Dr. Carl Whiting Bishop of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington.

Chinese civilization changed little with the passage of time while that of Egypt and Babylon was destroyed. This, he says, gave China an air of great antiquity. But Dr. Bishop claims that Egypt and Babylon developed their civilizations first.

New Uses for Silver

Fifteen fellowships for scientific workers have been established by the principal silver interests of the nation in an attempt to find new uses for the metal, Dr. Layman J. Briggs, director of the National Bureau of Standards, Washington, has announced.

Three of the fellows will be stationed at the Bureau of Standards, the others in the laboratories of American colleges and universities.

DAVID DIETZ

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

IN THE South, thirty years ago, June 'Teenth was celebrated by the Negroes as 'Mancipation Day, and its symbol, quite as much as the turkey proclaims Thanksgiving, was the big, juicy, luscious watermelon. Then it was that the first wagonloads came in from the farms to be peddled through the streets: "Watermel-ONS! WATermelons!" Housewives bargained for the biggest melon for the lowest price, and plugging the melon was for the risk and account of the seller.

Reminded of those good old days some weeks ago by the sudden apparition of watermelons at the neighborhood stores, I sought to buy one, and found that all over the city they were 39 cents for small ones and 49 cents for larger ones, take it or leave it, a dull monotony. Then I read that a 48-hour embargo had been placed on shipments of melons north out of Georgia and Alabama, because the northern market was "glutted." The embargo was ordered, it seems, by the Department of Agriculture and appeared to meet general acquiescence. The prices remained at 39 cents and 49 cents.

Not only in this country, but all over the world, legislatures have grappled with the growing complexity of economic problems, and the social problems which grow out of them. Skimming over the records for the last eight or ten months provides a sketchy indication of this trend, but perhaps a bare factual summary might speak more clearly than any scholarly essay on the subject. Price-fixing, regulation of business, limitation of production, discrimination against alien business and labor, nationalization of resources, "planned" economy, machinery, shortening the hours of labor, and the enlargement of the privileges and compensation of labor are some of the things we encounter.

Labor Omnia Vincet

The problems of the laboring man, in the factory or on the farm, have crowded the legislative calendars, as if the civilized world, anticipating some great calamity, were seeking feverishly to set its house in order against the dread day.

New Zealand, France and Italy are among the countries recently fixing forty as the maximum number of hours of labor per week. As this is the number set by the prevailing international convention, the 40-hour week may soon be generally applicable throughout the world, or at least in the industrial regions. Some less highly industrialized countries have set a maximum, but set it higher. Greece has set 48; Venezuela has set 48, except for office workers, who have 40 only. In France and Chile special laws have reduced the number of hours in the mining industry. Belgium limits work in dangerous difficult or unhealthful occupations to 40 hours.

A new Argentine law provides one day in seven as vacation with pay for chauffeurs, and in Cuba factories employing fifty or more women must provide a supervised room for babies and give the mother two half-hour periods daily with pay, to allow her to get acquainted with the baby. In the Netherlands a Government Commission will undertake to fix the proportion of male to female laborers in factories.

In Colombia, fifteen days vacation with pay must be allowed now each year. In Peru, the Minister of Social Welfare determines vacation periods, as well as "summer hours," workmen's compensation and social insurance matters. France has issued regulations covering social insurance, particularly sickness and maternity risks.

In Cuba, those who work in sugar mills, vermicelli "assembling" plants, and salt works, as well as apprentices, office boys and messengers, have had their wages

placed under the protection of special laws setting minimum stipends. In Greece, most occupations come under minimum wage provisions.

The privileges extended to labor carry in some countries concomitant duties toward the government. Thus Venezuela, by authority of its Constitution of 1936, recently terminated a widespread strike by decree. A Cuban decree requires new labor organizations to register with the Department of Labor within ten days of their institution.

Who Pays the Cost?

Shorter hours, higher wages, and other improvements in the lot of the laboring man imply, of course, higher operating costs, which must be met either by reducing the profits of management and ownership, or by increasing the price to the consumer.

Extraordinary efforts have been made by many legislatures to strike a balance on a tight-wire stretched between the horns of this plain dilemma. Mexico, to protect a growing young industry, has assumed autocratic control over silk and artificial silk manufacture. This is not unusual in Mexico, which a few weeks ago (June 25) by decree placed all farms under state control, the government assuming to fix maximum and minimum prices, regulate farm production, and control exports and imports. Czechoslovakia, with the same motive, prohibits any new factories, or expansion of existing ones, in the radiator, wearing apparel and other fields, and also proscribed new banks or branches of banks. Germany limits any expansion by mail order retail businesses.

One year ago in France, a law was enacted to prevent unjustified price increases. It did not prohibit price rises, but merely made them subject to justification before a regional committee. If the committee was not impressed, the seller was reproved, and if he failed to conform, he was finally prosecuted. Americans doing business in France were hailed before such tribunals, particularly the tire and tube companies. A new decree of July 2 now cuts out all these mesne processes and directly prohibits the raising of merchandise and foodstuffs prices and of charges for commercial and industrial services which obtained on June 28, 1937. Exceptions provide for imported products, and fruit, vegetables, meat and other perishables, subject to justification as before. Departmental commissions are created, and a central national committee, under the Ministry of Finance, to supervise prices and price movements. The decree is sanctioned with heavy penalties for wholesale and proportionately lower fines for retail infractions.

At the same time, France has prolonged an old decree prohibiting increases in rents of houses and dwellings built before the war, a dubious and temporary inducement to the construction industry to provide better housing.

Lithuania has created an official "Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Crafts" authorized to "coordinate" activities of commercial enterprises with Government institutions, which doubtless means that an attempt will be made to limit expansion and fix prices.

New Zealand now has an Industrial Efficiency Act, which is "an act to promote the economic welfare of New Zealand by providing for the promotion of new industries in the most economic form and by so regulating the general organization, development and operation of industries that a greater measure of industrial efficiency will be secured." Under this Act, the Minister of Industries, on recommendation of a new Bureau of Industry, may declare that any specified industry may be carried on only by license and in conformity with the terms of such license.

Meanwhile, closer to home, the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico have both adopted Fair Trade Acts similar to those of Illinois and California which were upheld by the United States Supreme Court at the last term. The result will be to promote retail price maintenance in trade marked merchandise.

India has a new law to regulate the flotation of corporation stock which adopts some of the policies of our own S.E.C.

Guatemala may soon do likewise, having recently required all business concerns to register.

Persistence of Economic Isolation

The treatment accorded to aliens and alien enterprise in many countries still tends to be prejudicial. Some recent evidence includes a Colombian law requiring that 70 per cent of the employees and 80 per cent of the contractors and laborers in each business must be nationals. Cuba went a step further, limiting these places to native Cubans, but the Cuban Supreme Court, on the suit of a naturalized citizen, condemned the law for its "inconstitutionality." Cuba has a heavy unemployment problem, and with 250,000 Cubans out of work, it is not surprising that the deportation of thousands of nomadic West Indians was carried out, and that many bills for the protection of Cubans, such as one restricting accountancy to natives, should be offered.

Colombia also has limited coastwise trade to vessels of national registry. Latvia requires that the "responsible manager" and the "technical manager" of each business enterprise must be a citizen. In the Philippines the mining industry has been closed to foreigners hereafter. South Africa requires business men and others who might be employed during their visits to deposit one hundred pounds sterling to guarantee their departure. The Canary Islands requires foreign laborers to register with the Delegación del Trabajo, but a more cheerful note is sounded by Czechoslovakia, which exempts residents since 1923 from the rigors of the alien deportation act.

New regulations in Rumania, issued for the expressed purpose of stopping foreigners from "monopolizing" local commerce and industry, now require that foreign firms, upon applying for permission to do business, must conform to the following principles: the type of business to be done must not conflict with or be detrimental to Rumanian business of the same type already established in the locality; and, in addition to the documents heretofore required, the applicant must present the authorization to reside in the country and to exercise a profession on his own account, a certificate of good conduct from a court of the place where the foreigner resided for the previous ten years, a declaration regarding assets, and a certificate from the Bureau of Alien Control giving the foreigner's place of residence, his situation since entering the country, and his occupation.

Repealing the Law of Gravity

The foregoing instances have been gleaned principally from official reports of the State and Commerce Departments during the last ten months or a year. They do not constitute sufficient data upon which to base any broad generalizations; nevertheless, they tend to illustrate current legislative trends. Some laws appear designed to emasculate the old provision that a fool and his money are soon parted. Others seek to prolong the status quo of the labor market, in the face of such startling innovations as the mechanical cotton-picker, the mechanical tobacco-stripper, etc. The badgered old world stumbles bravely forward, pulling itself along by the boot-straps.

GUERRA EVERETT

ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

MORE than eight hundred delegates, representing all varieties of Christianity with the single exception of the Church of Rome, met in Oxford, England, during the second fortnight of July. Final and definite Church union was neither intended nor expected at Oxford. The Conference (World Conference of the Churches on Church, Community, and State) endeavoured to reveal clearly the major tasks which confront the Universal Church. It was an effort towards achieving the means by which the Churches will be enabled to work together, with a common strategy and a common objective. Divisions of centuries could not be overcome in the space of a few short days—nor for that matter, during the years of preparation. Representing as it did only a loosely-knit organization of official delegates of the different churches, based on friendly association, this "almost ecumenical" Conference hoped that a World Council of Churches may be developed which will some day be able to speak as authoritatively for the rest of Christianity as the Vatican now does for the Church of Rome. To that end a committee was appointed to meet with a similar committee to be appointed by the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order in August.

The constant theme of the Conference was the "Unity of the Church in Christ." This was reflected in the final conclusion on world problems. The Conference was constantly reminded of the absence of the German delegation. (Their passports were confiscated just before they were to have sailed.) Expressions of sympathy were sent to them, as well as regrets that Germany was not represented. This in spite of the presence of the delegates of the German Free Churches, the Methodist Bishop Meller, and the Baptist, Dr. Paul Schmidt. (Less than one per cent of the German population belongs to the Churches represented by Bishop Meller and Dr. Schmidt.)

The final pronouncements included the following topical conclusions on world problems:

Community: "In consonance with its nature as a true community the Church will call upon the nations to order their lives as members of one family of God. In the same way the Church must hold together in spiritual fellowship its members who take different views concerning their duty as Christian citizens in wartime."

War: "To condemn war is not enough. Christians must do all in their power to promote among the nations justice, peaceful cooperation, and the means of peaceful adjustment to altering conditions. Especially should Christians in more fortunate countries press a demand for justice on behalf of the less fortunate. Insistence upon justice must express itself in a demand for such mitigation of sovereignty of national states as is involved in the abandonment by each of claims to judge its own cause."

State: "We recognize the state as having authority from God for its own conscience. But as it holds its authority from God, so it stands under His judgment. Christians can acknowledge no ultimate authority but God."

Economics: "Christians have a double duty, both to bear witness to their faith within the existing economic order and to test economic institutions in the light of their understanding of God's will. The Church's responsibility is to insist on a true order of spiritual economic good. Human wealth does not consist in a multitude of possessions. It consists in fellowship with God. To this fellowship and the richness of its variety all economic wealth should be subservient."

Education: "In the education of youth the Church has a two-fold task: First, it must be eager to secure for every citizen the fullest opportunity possible for the de-

velopment of the gifts God has bestowed upon him. Particularly the Church must condemn inequality in educational opportunity as the main obstacle to the fullness of fellowship in community life."

Among the practical steps suggested by the Conference to be taken by the Churches, the following were noteworthy:

"First, to banish from the Churches racial barriers; second, to develop the interdependence of the Churches by increasing mutual help; third, to labor for the removal of hindrances to religious freedom; fourth, to educate members of the Churches in the meaning of their membership in the universal Church; fifth, to foster education in the problems which underlie the achievement of better international order; sixth, to work for the limitation of armaments by common agreement among the states, and, seventh, to support in every way these organizations now working through the Churches for peace and to set up an adequate organization of Churches for common ecumenical study and action."

Asserting the freedom of the collective Church from governments which attempt to limit its functions, the Conference set forth seven points of freedom as "essentials to conditions necessary to the Church's fulfillment of its primary duties," as follows:

"First, freedom to determine its own faith and creed: second, freedom of worship, preaching and teaching; third, freedom to determine the nature of its own government and the qualifications of its ministers and members; fourth, freedom of control of the education of its ministers if it so desires, and to give religious instruction to its youth; fifth, freedom of Christian service and missionary service, sixth, freedom to cooperate with other Churches; seventh, freedom to open to all citizens such facilities as will make possible the accomplishment of these ends."

An unprecedented example of "Christian Fellowship" was the Service of Holy Communion at St. Mary's Church. For the first time in history the Primate of the Church of England celebrated the Holy Eucharist for members of other Christian Churches. Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and others received the sacrament.

Almost simultaneously with the "general" Communion Service came the announcement that the Chapter of the Washington Cathedral (Episcopal) had created three new "honorary canonries" and had elected as the first incumbents three outstanding leaders in other denominations. These three honorary canons are Dr. William Adams Brown, Professor Emeritus of Theology at Union Seminary (a Presbyterian cleric); and two laymen, one Methodist and one Baptist—Dr. John R. Mott, leader of the world Christian Student Movement, and Dr. Douglas Freeman, editor of The Richmond *News-Leader*. The Cathedral, with its "broad Congressional charter" has always aimed to promote Christian fellowship. This is a high precedent for the furtherance of Christian unity.

Yugoslav-Vatican Concordat

On the night of July 23 the lower house of Parliament ratified the Jugoslav-Vatican Concordat, shortly preceding the death of Patriarch Varnava, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the leading opponent of the measure which would grant Roman Catholics liberal privileges concerning education, marriage, and property rights.

When the kingdom of Jugoslavia was created, following the War, Serbia, "as strongly Orthodox as she was triumphantly nationalist" inherited from Austria the (Roman) Catholic provinces of Croatia and Slovenia. Croats and Slovenes have resisted "Serbianization" as both religious and political. There are 6,500,000 members of the Orthodox Church in Jugoslavia, 5,000,000 Roman Catholics, 1,500,000 Moslems, and a small percentage of Protestants and Jews. The Catholics claim that they need the Concordat to protect their religious rights against the dominant Serbs; members of the Orthodox Church say that the Concordat guarantees privileges to the Catholic that the National Church does not enjoy.

The Concordat in question was negoti-

ated three years ago by King Alexander, in an effort to placate the Croats, then uniting in a formidable autonomy movement. Ratification of this controversial document was delayed as long as possible. Belgrade has been in a turmoil over this issue, in which religion and nationality are almost synonymous. Premier Stoyadinovitch announced that the Belgrade government had no intention of bringing the bill before the Senate at present.

The Orthodox Bishops struck back at the Government by excommunicating every Orthodox member who had worked for or voted for ratification. Prince Paul returned from his vacation in Slovenia long enough to receive numerous demands for the Premier's resignation. He ignored the demands, went to the Cathedral where Patriarch Varnava lay in state, lighted a candle, and left the capital. The inference was that he supported the Premier and wished to show his displeasure with the Church authorities.

The Order for Excommunicating the Cabinet Ministers and members of Parliament was not read, as had been planned, on Aug. 1, for technical reasons. According to the Constitution, all Ministers and Deputies must belong to one of five religious communities. The excommunicated officials no longer fulfill this requirement and, it is stated, can regularize their position only by joining some other religious group. The Government claims that the excommunication can have no effect, in fact is illegal, since there is no Patriarch whose signature is required before such a document can be validated. And if the excommunication is valid, then there can be no election of a new Patriarch, since the electoral college cannot be summoned by the Government (excommunicated). It is certain that further disturbances will develop. What the outcome will be no one can say. The foreign press is finding it increasingly difficult to report the facts of the situation, in view of official pressure upon individual correspondents.

Religion in Russia

The Soviet Union's drive against enemies during July included not only members of the Russian Orthodox Church but also against Roman Catholic and Protestant priests and ministers. A wireless dispatch to the *New York Times* under an Aug. 1 dateline tells of the trial of "thirty practitioners of religion, including a Bishop, and two former nuns, on charges of counter-revolutionary activity." *Bezbozhnik*, the organ of the League of Militant Godless, from which the *Times* correspondent quoted, is reported to have said: "They were all accused of carrying out counter-revolutionary work among believers. It was their aim to create a wide-spread counter-revolutionary fascist organization of active churchmen and reactionary elements."

Conflicting views of the "electioneering" which certain of the Russian clergy have been doing in preparation for the first election under the new Constitution, which returned the ballot to "believers"- -clerical and lay, is epitomized in these two quotations:

A priest near Moscow is reported to have said: "God has brought the Bolsheviki to their senses. They have become reasonable. Let us therefore prepare for elections to the Soviets and elect our people-believers."

Bezbozhnik declared in answer: "A Bolshevist repulse must be given to the propaganda of the Churchmen."

REV. WILLIAM SHARP

☆ THEY SAY ☆

Translations and quotations from the press of the world

DEBAUCHEE OF ACTION

Tukhachevsky was one of those nightmare characters that emerge only in the glare of revolutions. At the age of 21 he came into a heavily mortgaged estate and a mass of debts contracted by dissolute ancestors. The War gave him the one chance of a career. When the Revolution broke out, there seemed better chances in the Bolshevik ranks than in the armies of Koltchak and Denikin. Although he had always expressed contempt for the Tsar and the degenerate nobility, he had been equally scornful of the revolutionaries and had an intense hatred of Jews. But, once the die was cast, the renegade let no one doubt his loyalty to the new regime. After defeating the White Armies, he put down the revolt of the Cronstadt sailors with the utmost cruelty; he had his own superior officer, Muravioff, shot for treason.

A luxurious drawing-room car took him from front to front; his leisure was spent in making violins and listening to Beethoven's ninth symphony on the gramophone. When his wife was accused of sending unauthorized supplies to her famine-stricken relations, he himself repudiated her and drove her to suicide. A few weeks later he married again.

A debauchee of action, he had little taste for peace. His pamphlet entitled "Class War" shows him to have upheld the Trotskyite theory that the Red Army should be a nucleus for revolutionary armies all over the world.

The first split between him and Stalin occurred when the Red forces were invading Poland. Stalin was then a little known political agent with the army under Budyenny. Tukhachevsky, whose troops were exhausted by their advance, called on Budyenny to come to his assistance. But Budyenny and Stalin refused to listen, and Russia lost her chance of reconquering Poland largely through their anxiety to have a victory of their own.

After Trotsky's removal, Stalin took the opportunity of disgracing Tukhachevsky for the first time by sending him to an obscure provincial garrison. But his military qualities were needed for the reorganisation of the Red Army and he was recalled as Chief of Staff. Now Stalin has conferred on him the final disgrace that awaits every too independent subordinate in Russia.

Floodlight in the *World Review*, London

SYMBOL OF LIFE

The Soviet airmen have stormed the North Pole and captured it. A new page has been added to the glorious history of Soviet aviation. A new chapter has been written in the history of the conquest of nature by man. In letters of gold the future historians of mankind will inscribe this generous contribution of the brave Soviet explorers to the treasury of human knowledge.

While the Soviet planes were courageously fighting against formidable obstacles set up by nature, German bombers were wiping out peaceful cities in Spain, destroying age-old cultural monuments, mowing down with machine-gun fire defenseless women and children. The black wings of the fascist airplanes have become a dark symbol of death, destruction, horror and vandalism. . . . The bright wings of the Soviet, Stalinist planes are a symbol of life, creation, peace and culture.

Pravda, Moscow

ARCTIC MENU

The Institute of Public Nourishment has prepared a stock of food sufficient to last the settlers who will winter at the Pole for two

years. Some of the articles have been specially treated by a pressure process—cream, butter, caviar, cheese, chocolate, etc. Then come a number of concentrated products: 1,000 kilograms of meat and poultry, and 150 kilograms of soup (beetroot, cabbage, etc.). Fifty head of cattle, 5,500 chickens and 3 tons of vegetables and other foodstuffs were used in the manufacture of these concentrated products.

The foundation of the settlers' daily rations are two tablets, weighing 170 grammes each, containing chicken that has been first roasted and then dried, with pork fat, and cooked and dried vegetables.

These tablets are better than the pemmican with which Amundsen, Scott and Peary equipped themselves for their arctic and antarctic expeditions. Pemmican is a mixture of dried meat and fat. It has to be cooked before eating, and is, besides, very monotonous fare.

Soviet pemmican has all the properties of ordinary pemmican; but, in addition, it has a very good taste, and one does not get sick of it. In ten or fifteen minutes it can be made into soup. Should no fire be available, it can be eaten with bread or cake. Two tablets of Soviet pemmican contain 2,200 calories.

The North Pole settlers will have four meals a day, and each meal will consist of three or four dishes.

Journal de Moscow, Moscow

NEA

THE BEAR THAT FLIES LIKE A BIRD

MOSCOW AGAIN

It is certainly correct that England, with all the weapons which she holds ready, does unsheathe the sword as seldom as possible, but it is not so long ago that we noticed British troops inflicting immediate reprisals with arms in the mandated territory of Palestine; and in Waziristan too, a commission did not gather round a table, but 30.000 troops marched in to deal with attacks. There are things which can be swallowed, and things to which one can only react with the fist, if one does not wish to forfeit respect completely. This rule of the game tacitly holds good for Europe, especially in the case of Spain.

The [Almeria] affair did not, in spite of this, set Europe in warlike motion. Why not? Certainly all statesmen have the feeling today that the risks of a war are too great—but also there was no cause for whose sake the peoples could be sent to war with real inner conviction. Spain is the scene of a *tragedy*—that is felt everywhere in Europe. For months a movement aiming at ending this tragedy has been evident. A number of States wish for a victory of the Valencia Government, others are thinking of a partition of Spain, Paris hopes for a Popular Front system, but not one of the European Powers wants to see as a result of this frightful year of Spanish self-mutilation a regime of disorder, a system of banditry, a lasting source of unrest established in the Mediterranean.

In spite of the bombing attack and the withdrawal of the German and Italian units from control, Spain must continue to be kept within bounds by Europe. If such a thing as a European community exists at all, it is as a community against a common danger, and that this danger is not smaller but greater after the bombing attacks will be clear to everyone.

We have said long enough that in Spain not only Spanish affairs are at stake, but that a system is at work there whose means and methods have been obtained from Moscow, and which is not only fighting the national forces of Spain, but at the same time attacking those Powers which have taken the most drastic means to exterminate all possibility of Bolshevism in their own lands

Glasgow Record

JUST A LITTLE BIT OF PLEASANTRY?

The Bolshevik forces are not only directed against Italy and Germany but wish to destroy the whole system of quarantine. But Europe must hold fast to this system—only the methods used must be such that Bolshevism really feels them at last.

Der Angriff, Berlin

DEATH TO JEWS

In the Oran district it is quite different. There it is no longer a social problem but a political one. The mental outlook in these parts has reached the point of paroxysm; riots and skirmishes are continually occurring. Public gatherings take place in different quarters "with revolver in pocket, and carbine in hand." At Mostagenem, shortly before our visit, the police had held up a succession of motor-cars, all filled with "honest militants" who, on their way to a meeting, were taking firearms with them to show their convictions!

Still more astonishing things take place. Several months ago in a large town of 200,000 inhabitants, merchants solemnly told us that they could not go to open up shop of a morning without a sporting gun on their back. . . . It is incredible, but true.

There have also been cases, during popular balls, of large quantities of chlorohydrate acid being flung in the faces of people coming out. Hundreds of vineyards belonging to the settlers have been ransacked and cut to pieces by night, and stacks fired.

The Oran district is not only the seat of these riots *par excellence*; it is also the department where anti-semitic propaganda reaches its highest pitch. The deep-sunken roots of this feeling lie, probably, in jealousy. The Jew is, as a race, more hard-working than the Arab, far more capable than the native, and generally succeeds where everyone else has failed. The Jew in North Africa is a skilful trader, a clever money-lender, and is always mixed up in every business transaction.

Gigantic swastikas, painted by unknown hands, appear on the walls or windows of Jewish shops. Tracts of all kinds—even bank notes—are in circulation, with the words "Death to the Jews" inscribed upon them, and Jewish children dare not go to school for fear of bullying from their schoolfellows.

Marianne, Paris

JAPANESE AVIATION

When the science of aviation was yet in its infancy in Japan, the authorities did not forget the utility of fanning public interest. The newspapers daily fired the imagination of the people, while every opportunity was taken for public air pageants. Even cinema producers were mobilized and worked hand in glove with the authorities in popularizing civil and military aviation, especially the latter. I remember how, some six years ago, large crowds had to be turned away from the big cinema theatres of Tokyo which were showing a film, "The Great Air Force," which took the public by storm. The plot was most ordinary. A Japanese ace became very friendly with a crack United States' flyer and not only learnt all he could from his American friend but also managed to worm out of him secrets that he thought would some day prove useful. And *Der Tag* then arrives! Japan and America are at death-grips. Follows the inevitable victory of Japan, and the film ends on the note of triumphal reviews of Japan's air forces.

To-day Japan has some thirty to forty plants that turn out flying machines and their parts and accessories. An idea of the size of some of these may be gathered from the fact that the Mitsubishi plant at Nagoya, which is one of the firms manufacturing aeroplanes for the Army and Navy, covers an area of 59 acres and employs about 3,000 persons. Then there are the Kawasaki and Ishikawajima plants, subsidiaries of the shipbuilding firms of the same name, which manufacture reconnaissance planes. Till 1919, Japan imported this type of machine from France. To-day, Japanese factories supply the country's entire needs.

The New Review, Calcutta

MILORD'S ENGLAND

The general criticism of the British Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition (writes a correspondent) is that it is a palace of the milord, rather suggesting that after a milord came back from the grand tour he thought he ought to show the foreign fellows what a country should be —haughty ladies in tiaras, Garter King of Arms, polo implements, hunting saddles, Highland sporting outfits, and so on. To see the exhausted but inexhaustible faces of the French workmen, fresh from a study of the grim ideology of the Soviet and the German pavilions, gazing up at this far-away world of "endless English comfort by country folk caressed" and hear their exclamations and comments is a rich experience.

But the English visitor is misled if he thinks that the average Frenchman has no personal concern with this array of sport and leisure. There is a display of splendid cricket bats, scores of them, reaching to the roof, before which there is always a group of sad-looking citizens looking up at them with a sort of doomed look. Listen to their remarks to one another and you are puzzled that they should be so much interested, indeed that they should be interested at all. But the French are no fools. They know that every town in France and nearly every village now has a football field and goalposts and nets and that all that came from England. Well, here is the English cricket game—bat, les stumps, and all. Can they escape it? Jean turns to Pierre and Pierre to Jean: "Le cricket—le voilà."

The Manchester Guardian

BRITAIN'S DILEMMA

The position in Europe is steadily worsening. From the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War it became increasingly evident that Europe was entering a phase in her political 'ife that could not be resolved peacefully. Where there was reason to hope at one time, he spinelessness and dilatoriness of the demoratic countries have tended to make a per- lexing situation quite incapable of disen- anglement. A sharp and well-timed act on e part of Britain and/or France would have laced Hitler and Mussolini on the run. Un- rtunately a series of hampering factors pre- ented action other than the formation of e mock non-intervention committee.

A bold, decisive step requires a clear-cut d well-defined policy. Such was, however,

Glasgow Record

In an article believed to be written by Signor Mussolini, it is declared that only General Franco could recall the Italian volunteers from Spain

sadly lacking in the heads of the British Tory Government, and in Blum, who, though doubtless a brilliant intellectual and parliamentarian, stood petrified with fear for a whole year before the fearful apparition of the Nazi and Fascist dictators. In these circumstances he clung like a terror-stricken child to Britain's apron strings.

Where does Britain's disastrous vacillating policy spring from? It cannot surely be accounted for by the character of the British people who have a long tradition of fighting qualities, more especially in the face of adverse circumstances. The reason lies much deeper and must be sought for in the conflicting political ideologies that are at present stalking the continent of Europe.

Except for one or two out and out admirers of totalitarianism, it may be said that most of the leading figures in British public life have been thoroughly revolted by the happenings in Germany during the last four years. Neither does the pompous buffoonery of Mussolini appear to them as very impressive. We have, on occasions, derided some of Mr. Baldwin's speeches as unctuous and hypocritical, but it cannot be gainsaid that when Mr. Baldwin speaks deprecatingly of dictatorships he means what he says—in the abstract, at any rate. But Mr. Baldwin does not live in a vacuum. He represents the economic and financial interests of Britain. This means roughly that it is his business to see to it that the British workman is kept in employment earning two to three pounds a week, and, what

Daily Herald, London

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is more important, that the British capitalist gets his 10 per cent dividend on capital investment. This latter part is in fact so important that it often completely shuts out into a distant obscurity what are after all sentimental considerations, such as liberty and democracy. The common man sums up this state of affairs in the simple but forceful saying that a business has no soul to save or a body to damn.

—*South African Opinion*

SPORTSMANSHIP

The football "war" between Austria and Italy has once more taken a serious turn. On Sunday the Austrian football club Admira arrived back in Vienna from Venice, where the club was politely asked to leave Italy.

Last March there were demonstrations in Vienna against the Italian team which caused tension between the two countries. A fortnight ago, during a match between the Austrians and the Italians at Genoa, there were wild scenes, Austrian and Italian players attacking each other.

On Sunday another match should have taken place in Genoa, but the Italians suddenly cancelled it, although it was in the competition for the Central European Cup, in which Italian, Austrian, Hungarian, and Czech teams are competing. The cancellation was done very abruptly after the Austrian team had arrived in Italy. The Football Association protested and instructed the club to await further orders in Venice, but on Saturday the Austrian team was politely asked to leave the country. Though there was no formal expulsion the request for the players' departure really amounts to expulsion.

—*The Manchester Guardian*

CASTOR OIL AND KNOUTS

Italian Fascism is more successful than German in maintaining secrecy. The outside world, for instance, knows nothing of the repercussions of the Spanish civil war within Italy. But I am told by those in a position to know that there is a considerable body of Italian opinion which sympathizes with the Spanish Republic and regards Italian intervention as a mistake. This attitude is no doubt aided by rumors of continued trouble in Abyssinia and by increased taxes and a rising cost of living. Discontent manifests itself, they tell me, especially in the industrial towns of the north, where inscriptions are chalked up on the walls at night with such slogans as "Down with the war!" "Call our soldiers back from Spain!" On one occasion a large portrait of Mussolini was found in the morning adorned with a red line round his throat. More significant, perhaps, is the increased demand for wireless receiving sets, which can be used for listening in to the Italian broadcasts from Barcelona and Valencia. I am told that in some places the population deserts the streets every evening in order to hear the wireless from 11 to 12 o'clock.

To meet this development, the Government has reverted to the old methods of the Fascist revolution, redoubling the espionage organization and drawing up lists of suspected persons, on whose homes squads of picked men make surprise raids at night. Public restaurants and cafés are required to turn off their radios at 11 p.m. People caught in the act of listening to forbidden stations are terribly beaten and then carried off to prison; their receiving sets are smashed. Such gangs of Fascists, I hear, recently undertook a wholesale "cleansing" action in Spezia, for example, where radio sets were demolished in a large number of restaurants. Similar happenings are reported from many towns all over the peninsula, from Lombardy to Sicily. Florence, centre of art and culture and one of the last outposts of the opposition when the Blackshirts first seized the power, has again become the scene of reversions to the use of the

knotted lash and castor oil as more effective weapons than the law courts. Publicly and officially this indiscriminate housebreaking and corporal punishment without trial are referred to as a praiseworthy revival of the old traditions and "first principles" of Fascism.

—Critic in the *New Statesman and Nation*, London

FIREMAN'S BALL

A friend just back from the Berlin Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce sends me a striking account of the reception given by Dr. Goebbels to the delegates. They came from all parts of the world and were there, of course, as objects of Propaganda. Believing no doubt that the bourgeois are all alike, Dr. Goebbels invited them to what is called a Sommerfest at the Pfaueninsel, one of the small islands of the Wannssee. After half an hour's journey from Berlin in specially provided cars, the 2,000 odd delegates were conducted over a bridge made up of pontoons placed at close intervals containing in almost every one a Reichswehr soldier. On stepping off on to the island, they were led along a winding path to the central arena through a glade lined at equally close intervals with obviously hand-picked Nordic maidens dressed in the manner of sublime chorus girls in immaculate tights and white satin blouses, standing stiffly to attention, on guard with long delicate wands. On emerging from the glade into a vast clearing of greensward, the rapidly tiring business men and wives were in no mood to resist the attractions of one of the best open-air spreads they had ever seen. They were even eager to express their kind regards to Dr. Goebbels— who made a personal reception of the whole affair—in order to get down to junketing. Once it had begun only a few cared to think about the effect of the incipient drizzle on the lightly clad guard of female grenadiers.

The feast flattered the most expensive taste in food and drink. Among the many meats were noticeably large portions of venison said to have been supplied through head-huntsman Göring. There were also in abundance delicate shellfish dishes, pâtés, and other delicacies, all washed down in a Niagara-like flow of champagne. Half-way through the junketing, the sky was suddenly lit up with thousands of lights converging on a circular stage raised high above dining tables, on which

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DOPING THE CHINESE

An ugly picture of how Japanese and Koreans, protected by extraterritoriality, and a few of their corrupt Chinese associates are drugging a large proportion of the population, both Chinese and foreigners, in sections of North China was given in an interview in the *China Press* June 19 by J. B. Powell, Publisher of *The China Weekly Review*, who had

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SPAIN—ONE YEAR

just returned from a six-weeks trip to North China. In Tientsin, Mr. Powell said, the Japanese concession is dotted with narcotic dives, each advertising its wares with the sign, "Yang Hang," (foreign firm). Mr. Powell made several visits to this area, which is rapidly becoming a big attraction to tourists. In this area, the visitor can buy packages of heroin as easily as one buys cigarettes in Shanghai. Upon entering the area, he is immediately surrounded by agents, each clamoring the special qualities of his narcotic. The way in which these agents swarm about the visitor, he said, indicates that there is an overproduction of narcotics.

Mr. Powell visited a drug "hotel," which had at least a dozen large rooms. Each room was filled with two rows of benches and averaged about a dozen opium addicts. Most of the smokers were youths, he said, and a good many were women. A sordid feature of the traffic was that all of the attendants were little girls, probably slave girls, who tended the opium lamps. "Although the situation in Peiping is not so bad, it is bad enough," continued Mr. Powell. Here the trade is conducted mainly by Koreans, who are also protected by extraterritoriality. They conduct at least three big opium "hotels" which are running at full blast.

Asked about the recent raids by Japanese Consular detectives, Mr. Powell pointed out that observers assign two reasons for this extraordinary action. One is that the Japanese are cleaning up the dens because many of the Japanese soldiers and civilians are succumbing to the easy availability of cheap narcotics. Another reason given by observers is that it is a show put on because of the recent allegations made before the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations. The recent raids on opium dives were preceded by smaller scale clean-ups about the middle of May when the Chinese protested the abnormal number of bodies found floating in the river which flows through the Japanese concession. At that time, the Japanese authorities handed over a large number of Chinese beggars, mostly dope addicts, to the Chinese authorities.

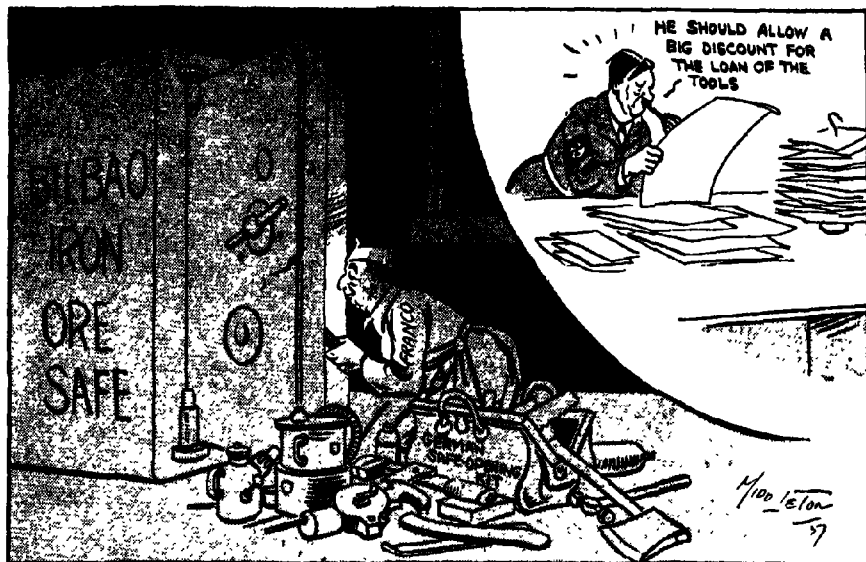
Mr. Powell visited a factory or internment camp where 1,600 of these people were being kept. All of them were ragged and looked starving. Some of them didn't even have clothes to wear, having probably sold them to secure narcotics to satisfy the drug craving. "There were at least 100 boys among them." This situation, he said. has come about directly as a result of the opium monopolies in Manchuria, Jehol and Hopei.

Asked why Japan is drugging North China, Mr. Powell pointed out that some observers say that it is part of her program to gain control, while others say that it is chiefly because the trade is a lucrative business.

—*The China Weekly Review*

SCANDINAVIA AND WAR

The neutrality of the Scandinavian countries is openly considered to be a mere façade behind which an anti-German party is in steady preparation. The efforts to reanimate the Oslo convention are also judged from this point of view. The Propaganda Minister's own paper discusses in a remarkably truculent tone the following question: "What standpoint do the Scandinavian countries propose to adopt in the event of a big European conflict?" The paper would like to know if these countries, in company with a number of other small States, want to become the stage on which the belligerents would again have to struggle for supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs.

In order to understand this question fully, one must remember that, a few months ago, at

Birmingham Gazette

STOLEN GOODS—Hitler frankly admits that he is after the Basque iron ore

the time of the visit of Hr. Stauning, the Danish Prime Minister, to London, the report was spread that Denmark had bound herself, in the event of a European War, to furnish supplies exclusively to England. Thereupon Dr. Munch gave it to be understood, in terms that do not permit of misunderstanding, that Denmark did not intend to take sides, but would, in accordance with her policy of neutrality, supply provisions to Germany, too, just as she did in the World War.

Germany takes, however, a much more serious view of Great Britain's diplomatic and economic activities in Sweden. It is well known that those in charge of the British armament scheme have acquired a considerable quantity of Swedish iron, and that, at the end of this year, Sweden's commercial treaties with Germany are due to expire, and that under no circumstances will they be renewed to their present extent. The reports, according to which England has made certain of securing practically the entire supply of Sweden's iron ore for a period of ten years, are regarded in informed Scandinavian circles as wildly exaggerated, but one fact remains indisputable, that Germany can no longer look upon Sweden as an unlimited source of supply for the iron ore that she needs for military purposes.

—*Baslen Nachrichten*, Switzerland

CENTIMETRE MORALITY

The Catholic Church has for years been attacking the National Socialist State with Pastoral Letters, in which they complain in moving terms about the supposed moral degeneration of our time.

They are, in so doing, protesting against a way of educating youth which is fresh, unstuffy and unprudish; they measure the shorts of children at play and gymnastics in order to ascertain by the centimetre the low level of modern morals. They complain about supposedly evil conditions in the Hitler youth. What hypocrisy in the face of the crying scandal of moral degradation which, as the trials show, has spread throughout wide circles of the Catholic clergy!

—From a speech by Dr Goebbels, German Minister of Propaganda

FIGHTING FOR PEACE

"It is said by some," writes Captain A. L. Kennedy, former Assistant Foreign Editor of *The Times*, in one of the wisest and most lucid books on Nazi Germany that has appeared in English, "that every day gained is a gain for peace. I believe that to be a superficial and unreflecting view. The present tendency is for Britain and Germany to drift

apart. A conscious effort is needed, and a supreme effort. There may not be another chance. The forces of armed conflict are growing too rapidly. War is being stamped again with the hall-mark of legitimacy, which had been erased from it in Paris in 1928. Men's will to fight is being deliberately stimulated."

This is all horribly true. Read the details of the British government's criminal cowardice in 1934 when the Germans were offering terms for the limitation of the control of armaments which sound quite fantastically favourable today and you will be left wondering whether the drift towards the reacceptance of war as an instrument of national policy can conceivably be checked. Men like Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare, greatly responsible, the one for the armament muddle, and the other for the greatest betrayal of the League, are still important members of the British cabinet. War is indeed being stamped again with the hall-mark of legitimacy.

But we are approaching one of those periods when public opinion can again make itself felt and even feared by politicians who understand only fear and compromise. If Herr Hitler is still hesitating in Germany every leader in every other country is appalled by the financial chaos towards which re-armament is leading. So favourable a moment for an attempt to bring Germany back to moderation is not likely to be repeated.

"If Great Britain and Germany," writes Captain Kennedy, "could settle their differences—there is no need for an alliance or anything like it—the present disintegrating process would almost certainly be arrested. The union of British and German (and other) efforts would exercise a vital influence upon events and might just turn the scale in favour of restoring prosperity (of which the elements are ready to hand) and a League System, instead of permitting the spread of bankruptcy and ungodliness, and a *sauve qui peut* among the nations."

—Vernon Bartlett in the *World Review*, London

PEACEFUL PENETRATION

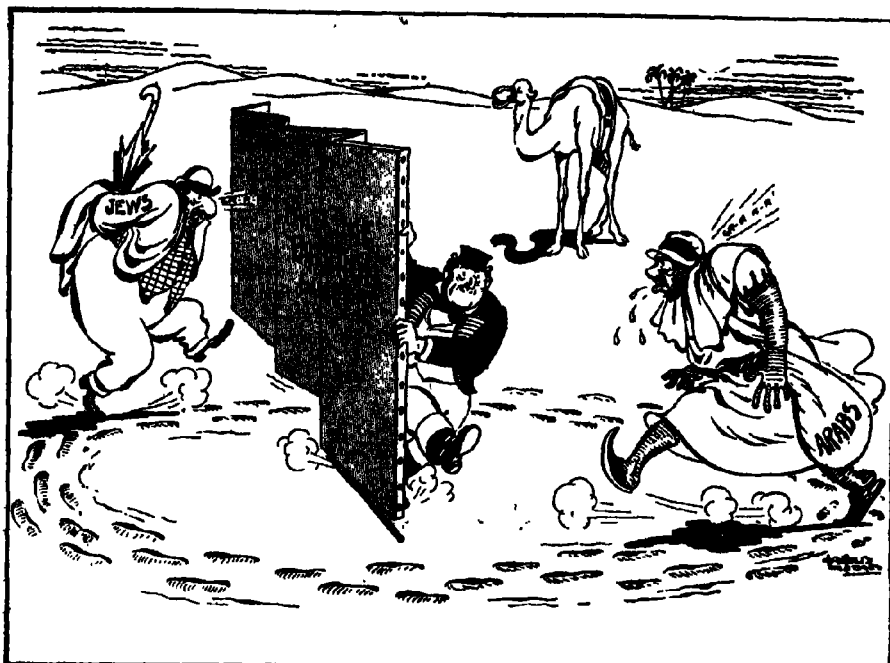
[illegible] barracks of Melilla at present house [illegible]000 German troops. A centre of mili[illegible]truction is being directed by German [illegible] who enjoy all the privileges of their army rank, *not only in military circles, but* even among the civilian population. That is to say, they command everywhere and everybody.

The instruction-centre is divided into three different sections: an armoured-car school, an aviation school, and a school of artillery and engineering. Native Arab troops are being trained and embodied in the main depôt, and henceforward will be instructed and armed in German fashion. The armoured-cars, aircraft, machine-guns and other material all come from Germany.

The land and sea formations of Melilla and Ceuta also co-operate in this training scheme. The German Staff is paying particular attention to the defense of Ceuta. The fortress which dominates the town and the sea is armed with long-range coastal batteries. The protection of the ports is assured by numerous German warships—cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The general impression gathered from all these preparations is that the Germans, not content with an intensive occupation of the fortified zones—Ceuta and Melilla—intend to turn them into important munition-dumps and large military camps.

There is every reason to believe that the establishment of the German Headquarters at Tetuan, in co-operation with, or replacing, the Spanish High Commissioner, has not only Spain as its objective, but more directly and more immediately, Morocco. The armaments assembled in the Riff and the formation of contingents of Arab troops, as well as the complete occupation of the Spanish mines by staffs of overseers and workmen sent specially from Germany—this combination of military measures and economic precautions constitutes a distinct menace to the northern half of the French Protectorate.

Two objectives are especially indicated: a political objective, symbolised by the ancient town of Fez, one of the last centres of Islamic civilisation and culture: an economic objective—the petroleum-wells of El Gharb (Western Morocco). It is common knowledge that for years Morocco has been a favourite obsession with the Germans. They have tried by every means in their power to install themselves in that country, or, at least, to do a certain amount of "peaceful penetration." Never before has such an opportunity occurred as that now offered by General Franco's insurrection.

In the event of a breakdown of the legitimate *Government of Spain, it is to France*

Western Mail & South Wales News, Cardiff

JOHN BULL INTERVENES

that international treaties have entrusted the control of, and responsibility for, Spanish Morocco. But the Germans have forestalled us at Ceuta, Tetuan and Melilla. Throughout the Riff territory they have substituted their influence for our authority. The same state of affairs exists in the southern Ifni region, where, it is true, preparations are not so far advanced as in the Riff, but where nevertheless, German cruisers call regularly, bringing to the Arabs the arms and munitions which will be used against us. This time war preparations are not being carried out in Spanish territory, where numerous excuses are not wanting. It is being done in Morocco itself, at the very gates of our Protectorate.

Before this definite menace France remains passive. A few roads have been constructed near the Riff frontier. There is also talk of reconstructing some of those famous outposts which, since 1926—the date of the Riffian war against Abdul Karim—have become almost legendary. A few battalions of Algerian infantry are stationed at Meknes, two battalions of Arab cavalry have their depot at Agadir, and a regiment of Senegal native troops is stationed at Marrakesh. This attitude is purely defensive and can but encourage Germany.

—*Le Petit Marocain* Casablanca (French Morocco)

THE CHINESE MAY WIN

My friend X, who has been living in Peking, is just back in England. He caught the last train before war preparation cut the Peking-Tientsin line. His concern is for the millions of Chinese peasants whose sufferings, he says, are callously overlooked both by the rulers, politicians and soldiers of China and by the bargaining Powers outside China. Because there are so many of them and because their skins are yellow and because they are so poor, diplomacy and politics take little account of them. He has the impression from travelling about North China that they are nevertheless human and individuals. War, he says, will inevitably upset the precarious economic balance which enables forty millions or so in the Northern Provinces to exist above the borderline of starvation. Quite apart from any who

may be killed in the fighting, ten millions or so will starve to death if there is war.

X, by the way, fully confirms all that we have been told recently about the Japanese drug trade in China. The Japanese are to-day doing exactly what we in England like to forget we did in the Opium wars in the middle of the last century. Because the most remunerative way of exploiting the Chinese market is by selling dope and because the Chinese Government is too weak to resist, we bullied it into allowing our merchants to sell opium. The Japanese are now doing the same thing with heroin. Some people think that they are deliberately undermining the character and physique of the younger generation in China in order to facilitate its conquest. X doubts this political motive; the Japanese, after all, want coolie labour—they are reputed to be kidnapping Chinese for work in Manchuria—and drug addicts are no use as labourers. The simple explanation is the probable one: that drugs are the quickest means of money-making and that the Japanese officials everywhere get a "squeeze" for themselves out of not interfering with the dope merchants.

Critic in the *New Statesman and Nation*

CHOCOLATE FOR SPANISH CHILDREN

Considerable numbers of German "volunteers" have been proceeding to Spain this month and in June. They leave Hamburg as tourists or as sportsmen, but are in reality technicians, pilots, and so on, who are more needed in the rebel army than units of infantry. The newly arrived German "volunteers" are easily recognisable in Spain by their relatively untanned faces (Spanish sun in a week or two produces a much deeper tan than the German sun normally produces).

War material has been leaving and continues to leave Hamburg for Spain uninterruptedly. One of the Hamburg quays is popularly known as the "Franco Wharf." Sheds Nos. 33 and 34 are at present full of war material (chiefly tanks and anti-aircraft artillery) for Spain. Sheds Nos. 37 and 32 have been cleared to receive material of the same kind.

Millions of rounds of rifle and machine-gun ammunition were sent to Spain from Hamburg early in the year. From May 2 to May 9 the steamer ——— of the ——— Line (the names are in my possession) was loaded up with war material (chiefly rifles, to judge by the packing) and left for Spain. On April 9 an ostensibly Danish steamer ——— (the name is not to be found in the Danish shipping register) left Hamburg for Spain with a cargo of aeroplanes, tanks, and other war material, including bombs that were packed in cases marked "Chocolate."

A number of German steamers make the Spanish passage with changed names and under Central or South American flags. One flies the flag of Panama, another the Peruvian flag.

A certain German firm (its name is in the possession of your correspondent) chartered four ships that left for Spain in March with war material. All employees of the firm are pledged to secrecy on oath.

Fifteen trawlers have been converted and armed for war at the Hamburg "Nordwerft." They have all left for Spain (considering the weakness of the Spanish loyalist fleet these fifteen armed German trawlers will be a very big asset to the rebel navy).

A ship that is now at Neumühlen (near Hamburg) was fired on off the Spanish coast during her last journey but one. She carried a cargo of explosives. She returned recently and was reloaded with war material. Some of the crew refused to go on board again. They were arrested by the Hamburg city police, and taken on board. The ship left for Spain with her full complement.

It is not publicly known what the German casualties in Spain have been. The parents of the fallen are informed, but are pledged to secrecy. In June a number of coffins with German dead arrived from Spain at Hamburg. They were transferred to No. 7 shed in the harbour. Both the ship and the shed were strongly guarded by the police.

—*The Manchester Guardian*

THE KAISER'S DREAM

The objective of German expansion is essentially commercial. Its future is on the waters, said the Kaiser, who showed little eagerness to annex the Bohemian Germans or the Teutons of Vienna. England was the enemy. Her world trade hindered the trade of Germany, while her military strength was underestimated in Berlin. Hence the adventure of 1914. Its unforeseen outcome inspired the Germans —for a time—with respect for England.

This respect, however, is evaporating. General Goering believes that he holds England at his mercy, with his aeroplanes. Hence the

occupation of the Rhine, a trial of strength that brought the German aeroplanes still nearer to London, until the time comes to install them in Rotterdam and Flushing. The Rhineland coup menaces England more seriously than it menaces France. The Maginot line is less easy to cross with impunity than the North Sea.

The present population of Germany is greater than it was in 1914, although its area is 15 per cent smaller. Dumping is becoming more and more necessary for Germany. But it collides above all with British trade. The ruin of England would help Germany more than the ruin of France or Russia. And the defeat of England is easier than that of France or Russia. That is the new fact of the situation.

Hitler is sincere when he says that he demands nothing more of France than peace, since peace with France would give him England, the British Empire, and world trade.

In the light of lessons from Signor Mussolini, whose aeroplanes forced England to retreat and who talks of dismembering the British Empire in collusion with Germany, Herr Hitler is no longer looking east, but west. For twenty-five years he will leave Europe in peace and work for the pacific or military domination of the British Isles. He hopes that their pacifism will lead them to accept treaties of commerce and finance, of immigration and colonization, equivalent commercially to a political conquest. Hitler is being led back to the Kaiser's dream. Economic determinism admits only of one-way traffic.

—*L'Ordre*, Paris.

TASS VS. U. P.

The Soviet Union's anti-Japanese propaganda work has gathered greater strength and force particularly since the conclusion of the German-Japanese anti-Comintern accord. The Soviet Union has since taken every chance to push on its anti-Japanese propaganda work on the program. As one means of pushing on this work Moscow's official news agency (*Tass*) has of late seemingly hit upon a new effective method of propaganda which is nothing else than its utilization of American news agencies, particularly the *U. P.*, for achievement of this aim. This trend has become very pronounced of late. And indeed the latest fact to prove this trend has been furnished by the entry into the innermost recesses of Shensi, the seat of the Chinese Soviet government, of a *U. P.* correspondent at Tientsin and his interview story obtained from the leaders of the Chinese Soviet government there and given wide publicity. This very fact must not be regarded as a mere adventure of a young American correspondent that he is. Such an adventurous undertaking could never be attempted but for the assistance of the Soviet Union which is maneuvering behind China and the Chinese Communists. The *U. P.* correspondent in question broadcast to the whole world his interview story thus obtained, from the innermost recesses of Shensi Province, according to which we are informed that there exists a university known as "the anti-Japanese university" and that a joint Soviet-Chinese front against Japan is being planned to be further augmented and strengthened.

It is now an open secret that when General Chiang Kai-shek was imprisoned at Sian by the hand of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang a certain Chinese Communist leader suddenly appeared on the scene and saved General Chiang from the cruel grip of the Sian rebels. This Chinese Communist leader pleaded for General Chiang Kai-shek that it was not the time for the Chinese to have internal quarrels among themselves. It was the time for the Chinese nation to be fully reconciled among themselves to present a united front against Japan, the same Communist leader is reported to have persuaded the Sian rebels. Such and other facts prove that a sort of definite understanding has been reached between the Communists and the existing Nanking government, and yet the latter has persistently denied such a fact.

Under the circumstances, it would be advisable for Japan, even in that matter of effecting readjustment of the Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, to wait awhile and see how this present Soviet-Chinese relation will settle. It would be safer for Japan to wait and see how meanwhile Japan should better push on her cooperation work with Great Britain and thus try to solve the China question in her favor.

—*The China Weekly Review.*

KRA CANAL

It is suggested that the Siam Government has given its consent to Japan to construct a ship canal through the isthmus of Kra. The idea has long been discussed in a general way. The Kra isthmus connects the Malay

peninsula with the mainland of Further India. Here there is a gap between the main mountain range of Indo-China and that of the peninsula, the highest altitude being only 100 feet and a ship canal through this narrow neck would shorten the route from China to Calcutta by 660 miles and that from Bangkok to Burma by 1,300 miles. Years ago the route was surveyed but the project was abandoned. In present circumstances of international trade, to say nothing of the balance of naval power in the Far East, a revival of the idea particularly by Japan is not surprising. By so considerable a reduction in the route of freighters going west, Japan would have much to gain. Ships of other countries going east to China and Japan, if treated on terms of equality in the matter of canal dues, would derive similar benefit, but none of them, not even those bearing the products of India, would win for the owning nations the advantage which would accrue to Japan owing to her initial start through industrial organisation and factory efficiency and costs. More important than future trade competition to the nations immediately concerned, however, would be the new factor the canal would introduce into the realm of international security. If Japan owned and controlled a canal through the Kra isthmus, the Singapore Naval Base and the narrow waters of the Malacca Strait would no longer be a restraining influence upon her. Fleet movements might still be subject to the limitations of distance but the canal might with peaceful penetration of Siam readily become a Japanese base. Even discussion of the project is bound to cause anxiety in many directions.

—*New Zealand Herald*, Aukland.

CHEAPJACK HITLER

This is the right moment for Germany to approach London. The British lion, an elderly and quondam terrible beast, has been treated as a negligible quantity by a few youthful wild cats. *The Chinese hunting grounds, until* recently open to all the carnivores of the world, are now being transformed into a Japanese national preserve. Abyssinia is a terrible memory. Palestine has been the scene of Arab revolts for weeks. And the Labour Party is exploiting the favourable opportunity for attacking the government's rearmament programme.

As a result, the British have become enterprising. English warships steam from Port Said to Haifa and back again. General staff consultations have begun with the French, a few gestures are thrown out in the direction of Soviet Russia, a questionnaire is despatched to Herr Hitler, and Herr Ribbentrop is invited for the weekend. Why this aimless bustle?

The explanation does not lie in sterility of thought, but in the fact that the English, with their enormous Empire, are pursuing too many plans at once. They are not concentrating on the radical solution of one particular problem at a time. Every fresh difficulty distracts their attention. They wanted to intimidate Japan with the help of the Soviet Union. In the meantime Italy became more important. They now need Hitler's help against Mussolini, while Japan conquers all North China in peace.

The English hoped to banish the German danger by the Anglo-German naval treaty concluded a year ago. The Nazis have broken this agreement too, and have not been seriously taken to task for it. Why not? Kurt Tucholsky gave the answer eight years ago. "There are several ways of incurring the deadly enmity of a cheapjack tradesman. One can dishonour his house, one can ruin his credit, one can give him a public whipping. But there is an even surer way; one can force him to keep a contract." And the English certainly don't want to risk cheapjack Hitler's enmity.

Hitler, Mussolini and Hirota, the Japanese, are quite a different set of fellows. They always risk everything, and are successful because the others risk nothing. The three dynamic powers, *i.e.*, those that break treaties on principle, make use of one another to undermine the front of peace-loving powers, to neutralise the states that can be subjected to particularly severe pressure, and thus to win free hands elsewhere. England, at the moment, has her hands tied in the Near and in the Far East. And as Ribbentrop reached London, the Nazi press began to fulminate more strongly than ever against Lithuania and, a new item, against Latvia.

—*Die Neue Weltbuehne*, Prague.

Chronology

Highlights of Current History, July 11–Aug. 10

DOMESTIC

JULY 11—Governor Townsend effects truce between C.I.O. and Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company; plant to reopen immediately.

Republic steel prepared to reopen all plants; C.I.O. sues State of Ohio to restrain use of troops.

Secretary Ickes charges compromise on sugar measure is "imperialistic."

JULY 12—C.I.O. headquarters suppressed at Massillon, Ohio, following fatal steel clash.

Chrysler union worker testifies that Ford thugs beat him day after River Rouge plant riot.

Senators charge Roosevelt with seeking to control the Supreme Court.

Secretary Morgenthau warns against a central agency controlling Federal police; fears oppression.

JULY 13—Workers in Youngstown plant in East Chicago return to work; no disorder.

Sea labor leaders denounce conditions aboard American ships before Maritime Commission.

Senator Copeland enters New York Mayoralty race; Tammany defies New Deal leaders.

Revolt on Court Bill grows in the Senate and House.

House of Representatives overrides President's veto of farm loan bill; vote 260 to 90.

JULY 14—Federal jury at Cleveland indicts nine men as mail obstructionists during steel strike.

Brooklyn shipyard workers defy injunction against pickets issued by Justice Fawcett.

Ex-foreman testifies concerning anti-union snooping in Ford plant.

Chicago police charge strikers with being armed during Memorial Day massacre.

Senator Robinson, majority leader, dies of heart attack.

House backs rival measure for solving farm tenancy problem over New Deal method.

JULY 15—Citizens' groups from 12 States organize anti-union front to protect right to work; meeting rife with "fascist hooliganisms."

National Labor Relations Board hears workers testify to Ford terrorism of union workers.

President Roosevelt writes Senator Barkley that Court fight must continue.

Guffey and Boland offer bill for stabilization of anthracite industry.

JULY 16—Five strikers and three policemen injured in shipyard clash; C.I.O. leader jailed for defying court writ.

Senator Wagner warns against mutilation of labor act.

Witnesses testify Ford workers were forced into Ford Brotherhood.

National Labor Relations Board charges Republic Steel Corp. with coercion and intimidation of workers.

Appropriations by current Congress total $7,500,000,000 compared with $8,703,324,108 last year.

JULY 17—Workers defy injunction against picketing at Wheeler shipyard, Brooklyn; Justice Fawcett threatens limit sentences for ignoring edict.

National Resources Committee warns of imminent inventions; asks for labor safeguards.

JULY 18—William Green assails Heywood Broun, Newspaper Guild head, as a "stooge of Communists in the C.I.O."

Steamship Owners Association warns of ruin to many ship lines if crew wages are raised.

Social Security Board reports that public relief obligations declined in March over same period last year.

Senator Wagner demands immediate action on low-cost housing.

JULY 19—Governor Lehman denounces Court plan as "dangerous" in letter to Senator Wagner.

Labor Party assails Lehman for reactionary position.

Chicago police testify they fired in self-defense during Memorial Day massacre.

Ex-Mayor Walker meets President Roosevelt for first time since 1932.

State for first time drops death plea in Scottsboro case.

JULY 20—Court bill reported shelved by White House.

New Jersey court rules closed shop and picketing, to gain closed shop, illegal.

Chicago coroner's jury declares Memorial Day massacre by Chicago police a "justifiable homicide."

Warrant issued by Detroit judge against Ford company and eight individuals charging assault.

Representative Jones introduces substitute bill for AAA; bill carries Administration backing.

JULY 21—Court Bill drive collapses; opponents hail victory.

Senator Alben Barkley wins Senate leadership, succeeding the late Senator Robinson by a 38 to 37 vote.

Senator Wagner replies to Governor Lehman saying his conscience will be his guide on Court Bill vote.

Labor unions with the Civil Liberties group join forces to fight New Jersey court ruling against closed shop.

Commerce Department reports cause of Hindenburg disaster as St. Elmo's fire.

Representatives in House form group to put store employes under Wages and Hours Bill.

JULY 22—Court Bill defeated by a vote of 70 to 20 in the Senate.

La Follette Committee reporting to Senate on Memorial Day labor killings score police for brutality.

Senator Nye of North Dakota denounces the National Labor Relations Board as a partisan body.

Senate enacts low interest farm loan bill overriding President's veto.

JULY 23—President Roosevelt holds Court objectives have been partially gained despite defeat of Bill.

Steel Workers Organizing Committee censures the Administration for indifference to labor killings by police during steel strikes.

JULY 24—Kentucky Coal Company is accused of using "strip tease" dances as means of keeping workers from union meetings.

Senate Judiciary Committee drafts bill to speed up work in lower Federal Courts.

Alabama frees four negroes held in Scottsboro case; sentences two others to prison.

Mayor's committee polls residents of Chicago in an attempt to have them take Wassermann tests.

JULY 25—Workers return to Youngstown and Bethlehem coal mines at old pay.

United States Chamber of Commerce rejects Wages and Hours Bill despite revision.

Social Security Board reports 29,954,821 persons received account numbers up to June 30.

Chicago Mayor's committee enlists the aid of 7,000 doctors in city's drive against syphilis.

JULY 26—Representative Rankin of Mississippi denounces labor; demands the removal of Federal Labor Board, charging a communistic conspiracy to wreck Southern industry.

Steel strike riot at Republic steel plant in Cleveland causes one death with twelve injured.

Republicans press Congress leaders for a quick adjournment.

Anti-lynching bill defeated in Senate 41 to 34 as amendment.

President Roosevelt considers subsidies to ocean airlines.

JULY 27—President Roosevelt defends the Federal Labor Board against accusations of bias.

C.I.O. union asks Roosevelt to intervene in New York shipyard strike; charge employers with responsibility of tie-up.

Lower court reform bill completed; curbs power to enjoin acts of Congress.

Congressman Dickstein asks investigation into Nazi activities; lists 46 Nazis in Congressional Record as agitators.

JULY 28—Representative Rankin of Mississippi is accused by American Federation of Hosiery Workers, of conspiring against Northern industry.

Senator Nye charges Asst. Sec. of Labor Edward F. McGrady with forcing Apex Hosiery Mills to deal with the C.I.O.

Joint Congressional Committee abandons inquiry into Mrs. Roosevelt's tax return.

Postmaster Farley denies split in Democratic party; predicts party victory.

JULY 29—Agreement signed in Apex Hosiery strike with closed shop compromise.

Senate moves to shelve Wages and Hours Bill.

C.I.O. Shoe Workers Union is victor in Labor Board election 6,802 votes to 690 for A.F. of L.

President Roosevelt confers with Governor Murphy of Michigan on labor situation.

JULY 30—Michigan Senate passes labor bill approved by the A.F. of L.; passage seen as a rebuke to Governor Murphy.

New York Republican Executive Committee designates Mayor La Guardia as candidate. Fusion forces split.

Southern Senators unite to denounce Wages and Hours Bill as a threat to the welfare of the nation.

JULY 31—Senate passes Wages and Hours Bill by vote of 56 to 28 after revising child labor provision.

C.I.O. pledges $100,000 to aid shipyards' strikers; John L. Lewis sends $5,000 contribution.

National Labor Relations Board threatens perjury charges against employers in shipyards' strike controversy.

Six Dearborn police ordered removed or disciplined by Judge Ralph Liddy for neglect of duty in Ford labor disturbance.

Senate members drive to close session; adjournment depends on House acceptance of Wages and Hours Bill.

AUGUST 1—Home of Philadelphia pastor who opposed C.I.O. in hosiery workers poll is attacked.

10,000 persons pay homage to Reich on "German Day" in Rochester.

AUGUST 2—C.I.O. in convention opens drive to organize 500,000 communication workers into one organization.

Philadelphia truck drivers call sympathetic strike to protest "thugs" employed as strikebreakers.

Senator Vandenberg moves to block recess appointment to the Supreme Court vacancy.

Committee opens hearings on government reorganization; administration critics fear President Roosevelt's power will be increased.

Representative Christopher D. Sullivan elected head of Tammany Hall; backs Senator Copeland for Mayor.

AUGUST 3—President Roosevelt favors Wages and Hours Bill amendment protecting agreements reached through collective bargaining.

National Labor Relations Board orders New Jersey lumber company to reinstate twelve workers discharged for union activity.

President Roosevelt hints he will name justice to Supreme Court vacancy; Senator Borah denies vacancy exists.

President Roosevelt refuses to sanction commodity loans unless accompanied by [illegible] control.

AUGUST 4—Wages and Hours Bill emasculated in the House, adopted by House Labor Committee.

Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel, charges Lewis is slipping, due to unwanted type of leadership.

Plymouth plant in Detroit closed by strike.

A.F. of L. announces reorganization of International Seamen's Union.

President Roosevelt threatens to veto sugar bill

if it restricts imports from Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

Navy to ask funds for two new super-battleships.

AUGUST 5—Joint committee submits plan to plug income tax loopholes.

Congressional farm group moves for extra session with President Roosevelt's approval.

AUGUST 6—New International Longshoremen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, gets C.I.O. charter; formed to fight Ryan's organization.

Plymouth plant in Detroit still closed; both sides accuse each other.

Senate passes housing bill; family unit limited to $4,000 or $1,000 per room.

House passes Sugar Control Bill; ignores Roosevelt's warning he will veto it in present form.

United States lifts coal tax in new trade agreement with Soviet Russia.

AUGUST 7—Senate approves unemployment census; to be taken by April 1, 1938.

Basic points in settlement of Plymouth strike submitted to auto union.

Senate passes revised court bill providing for mild reforms in lower Federal courts.

AUGUST 8—Plymouth plant reopens; five-point accord reached agreeable to both parties.

Republican members of the House urge use of twelve billion gold reserve to pay debts.

President Roosevelt discusses New York Mayoralty election with party leaders.

AUGUST 9—30,000 workers quit silk and rayon plants as C.I.O. opens drive on textile industry.

Newspaper Guild orders referendum on C.I.O. affiliation.

Labor Committee submits wage bill to House with fifty-nine changes in the version passed through the Senate.

Congress starts drive for adjournment.

Secretary of State Hull denounces sugar refiners, and opposes cut in Cuban quota.

Congress hears reports of abnormal cotton crop; legislators to press for new farm legislation.

INTERNATIONAL

JULY 12—British lack plan to call non-intervention impasse.

JULY 13—Lisbon may renew patrol of Portuguese-Spanish border.

JULY 14—British propose new non-intervention scheme, offering Spanish rebels belligerent rights in return for agreement to withdraw volunteer troops.

Great Britain and United States perturbed by Sino-Japanese conflict.

JULY 16—Anglo-Russian and Anglo-German naval treaties grant Soviet and Reich right to build 10,000-ton cruisers during next six years. Secretary Hull urges restraint to China and Japan.

British non-intervention proposals accepted as basis for discussion.

JULY 17—Franco rejects British plan, although Rome praises it.

JULY 19—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden warns Italy that England will fight to maintain her interests in the Mediterranean and on eastern shore of Red Sea.

JULY 20—Germany and Italy demand that granting of belligerent rights precede evacuation of volunteers from Spain.

JULY 21—Deadlock continues in London Non-Intervention Committee.

JULY 21—World Conference on Church, Community, and State held at Oxford, England, condemns Nazi attacks on Church.

JULY 25—London *Daily Herald* reports that General Franco is seeking agreement with France.

JULY 28—Great Britain seeking Italian friendship in hope of breaking Rome-Berlin axis.

JULY 31—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain sends "personal letter of friendship" to Premier Benito Mussolini.

AUGUST 2—Mussolini's reply to Premier Chamberlain brings Anglo-Italian accord nearer.

AUGUST 4—Vatican grants Spanish rebels diplomatic representation; full recognition anticipated.

AUGUST 7—Thirty-seven nations, excluding Germany, Italy, and Japan, formally agree to Secretary of State Hull's peace message of July 16.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

JULY 11—Loyalists occupy Villaneuva del Pardillo, 12 miles west of Madrid, and take 600 prisoners in drive to break siege of Madrid.

JULY 12—Nine rebel planes shot down in heavy aerial battle over Madrid.

JULY 14—Rebels claim to have stopped Loyalist advances in Sierra sector west of Madrid.

JULY 15—Six rebel planes and one Loyalist machine shot down in aerial "dog fight" over Madrid.

JULY 16—Government makes slight advance 20 miles south of Madrid, but rebels hold position in Sierra sector; rebel air raids beaten off Madrid.

JULY 17—Government forces advance towards Brunete and Ciempozuelos, west and south of Madrid, in move to surround besiegers.

JULY 18—Rebels lost 18 planes and Loyalists four; rebels gain in struggle for Brunete. All Spain celebrates first anniversary of war.

JULY 19—Rebels mass troops for new assault on Madrid; Franco intimates restoration of monarchy with Don Juan as king; rebels conclude trade agreement with Germany.

JULY 23—Rebels advance in Teruel sector, 15 miles northwest of Valencia; stalemate continues in Sierra sector.

JULY 24—Rebels enter Brunete, 15 miles west of

Madrid and at tip of Loyalist offensive to lift siege of Madrid.

JULY 25—Loyalists concede Brunete to rebels, who press towards Villanueva de la Canada.

JULY 26—Loyalists shoot down five rebel planes west of Madrid.

JULY 27—Rebels push on north of Brunete.

JULY 28—Rebels advance in eastern Spain.

AUGUST 2—Rebel drive in eastern Spain continues; insurgents now within 30 miles of Cuenca on road linking Madrid with Valencia.

AUGUST 5—Santander, last Government-held town on Bay of Biscay coast, in critical situation.

AUGUST 7—Andres Nin, anti-Stalinist leader, reported kidnapped from Madrid prison and shot.

AUGUST 8—Rebels report advance towards Cuenca road in effort to isolate Madrid.

AUGUST 9—Political crisis threatened between Negrin government, supported by Communists, and Anarchists led by Largo Caballero; latter demand proletarian reforms.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

JULY 12—Heavy fighting breaks out again outside Peiping; China warns of defensive measures unless alien troops removed.

(Chinese demands to Hopei-Chahar political council—1) Council must not accept Japanese demands; 2) 29th Army must not be permitted to retreat; 3) Any and all sacrifices must be made to repel Japanese.)

JULY 13—Hostilities continue; Japanese demand 1) withdrawal of Chinese troops (from western banks of Yungking River); 2) punishment of officers causing clashes; 3) suppression of all anti-Japanese movements; 4) cooperation against communism.

JULY 14—Japanese troops continue to pour into China as fighting continues; Japan insists upon economic exploitation of North China.

JULY 15—Chinese and Japanese consolidate forces for battle; Japanese insist upon negotiations with local Chinese officials only, barring Nanking from peace talks.

JULY 16—Japan sends home troops to China; drive on Peiping anticipated.

Japanese demand "autonomous" area in North China.

JULY 18—Japan holds further troops at home, pending outcome of negotiations.

Japanese report acceptance of their demands in North China; verbal agreement reached, but not signed.

JULY 20—Japanese issue "last warning" that Chinese troops retreat from north.

General Chiang Kai-shek urges China to resist.

JULY 21—Japanese shell Chinese barracks in Peiping zone.

JULY 22—Anti-Japanese 37th Division of 29th Army refuses to yield position; Tokyo and Nanking governments refuse to compromise over local settlement of dispute.

JULY 23—Nanking reported agreeable to local settlement of dispute; 37th Division being withdrawn; peaceful settlement seen.

Japanese claim accord reached with General Sung Cheh-yuan, head of semi-autonomous North China regime.

JULY 25—Agreement upset by visit to General Sung Cheh-yuan of vice chief of Nanking general staff, resulting in stiffened attitude towards Japan.

JULY 26—Japanese planes bomb Langfang, between Tientsin and Peiping, in new outbreak.

JULY 27—Japanese troops trapped in Peiping, many killed; Tokyo plans strong reprisals.

JULY 28—Chinese defy Japanese ultimatum and battle for Peiping commences.

JULY 29—Chinese surprise attack halts Japanese advance on Tientsin; Peiping bombed by Japanese.

JULY 30—Japanese planes devastate Tientsin; Chiang Kai-shek vows resistance "to bitter end."

AUGUST 1—Japanese continue battering attack on Tientsin.

AUGUST 3—Nanking moves huge forces northward; serious war in view; Japanese drive South from Peiping and Tientsin to meet advancing Chinese armies.

AUGUST 5—Japanese Cabinet votes supplementary budget of 408,000,000 yen for North China operations, making total appropriations to date 517,000,000 yen; Chiang Kai-shek holds emergency conferences with Chinese leaders; Western nations held unlikely to interfere.

AUGUST 6—Japan warns that concentration of Chinese troops north of Yellow River may bring wider conflict.

AUGUST 8—Japanese capture Peiping, set up military rule.

AUGUST 9—Japanese naval men slain by Chinese at Shanghai airport.

FOREIGN

Bolivia

JULY 14—Bloodless coup ousting Provisional President David Toro and establishing Colonel German Busch, Chief of General Staff, as President, attributed to young army officers.

JULY 31—New government decides to abandon Bolivia's experiment with state socialism and return to democratic-republican form of representative government.

Canada

JULY 19—Prime Minister Mackenzie King warns that Canada could not escape a "world holocaust"; asserts that Dominion will make own choice as to participation in war.

Cuba

JULY 25—Colonel Fulgencio Batista announces three-year plan of economic and social reconstruction, involving State control.

France

JULY 14—Bastille Day celebrated by huge military display.
JULY 19—Finance Minister Georges Bonnet presents economy cuts to Cabinet.
JULY 20—New economy measures expected to save 6,000,000,000 francs; arms budget not affected, 6,000,000,000 francs additional being allotted to defense.
JULY 22—Finance Minister Bonnet predicts balanced budget by end of year.

Germany

JULY 19—Exhibition of pre-Hitler "degenerate art" opened in Munich.
JULY 23—Heavy tax laid on males failing to serve in Army.
JULY 25—Brother of Rev. Martin Niemoeller secretly arrested by Nazis.
JULY 27—Government requisitions all wheat and rye crops to ensure bread supply despite anticipated 15 percent drop in harvest.
AUGUST 8—Authorities seize 115 in Niemoeller parade, believed to be first anti-Nazi mass demonstration.

Great Britain

JULY 22—By almost unanimous vote, House refuses to commit itself to partition of Palestine; bill to be submitted to Mandate's Commission of League of Nations.
JULY 23—House of Commons gives final assent to A. P. Herbert's divorce bill, desertion, cruelty, and insanity now legal grounds for divorce.
JULY 27—*The Morning Post*, oldest daily newspaper in the British Empire, sold to Lord Camrose, publisher of *The Daily Telegraph*.
JULY 28—King George VI escapes bomb on visit to Belfast, Northern Ireland.
JULY 31—Parliament adjourns after historic session.

Russia

JULY 12—Three Russians take off on new Moscow-San Francisco flight.
JULY 14—Russian fliers land in California, after 6,262-mile non-stop flight.
JULY 18—*Pravda* editorial urges political as well as criminal charges against Henry G. Yagoda, former head of the Political police.
JULY 21—Russian oil supply held to be second to that of America at International Congress of Geology.
JULY 23—Eight leaders of Young Communist organization removed as "enemies of the people," prior to voting under new Constitution.
JULY 25—*Pravda* editorial announces launching of newspaper purge.
JULY 26—Huge grain crop reported, with yields of 30 to 50 bushels per acre.
AUG. 1—Thirty clergymen on trial, accused of fascist plotting.

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VOLUME XLVI

April, 1937—September, 1937

This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

There has been little news of late concerning the ebullient Oswald Mosley and his British fascists. But they have not passed from the picture. The mystery of their present quiescence is explained in *Swastika Over England*, by **V. F. Calverton,** who has just returned from a visit to England, where he delivered a series of lectures at the University of London.

Charles Hodges, professor of politics at New York University and a member of *Current History's* editorial advisory board, lays out a complicated situation in a simple graphic form in *Pacific Retreat*, which describes the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine has been one of England's most notable state papers and one which has aroused an international controversy. **Pierre Crabites,** who discusses *The Partition of Palestine*, was formerly senior American Judge of the Cairo International Tribunal in Egypt, and is now a special lecturer at Louisiana State University Law School. His most recent book is *Unhappy Spain* (Louisiana University Press.)

The news has just reached this country of what is reported as the largest mass demonstration against the Nazi regime in Germany. This demonstration was a parade protesting against the arrest of the Reverend Martin Niemoeller, a priest who has become the leader of the Church opposition to the Nazis, which is in fact the only opposition. **Emil Lengyel,** a former contributor to *Current History* and the author of *The New Deal in Europe, The Cauldron Boils, Hitler*, and *Millions of Dictators*, writes with first-hand knowledge of this courageous figure in *Niemoeller's Crusade*.

The Background of American Labor comes from the early chapters of a survey of the American labor movement up to the present day. The author, **Herbert Harris,** is a former contributor to *Current History*; the book will be published by the Yale University Press and articles from it will appear in serial form in this magazine.

Curt L. Heymann, of the editorial staff of *The New York Times*, contributes to this issue the second of his series of articles on European arms and against and for whom they are to be used; the present article surveys the Fascist Entente—Germany and Italy.

Led by Surgeon General Thomas Parran, a wide-spread campaign has grown up to combat the ravages of social disease. The situation is comprehensively reviewed in this issue by **B. B. Tolnai,** a student of social problems and a contributor to the *Forum and Century* and *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

One of the romantic and least-known figures of contemporary history is *Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia*. **Ameen Rihani,** the author, a contributor to many American publications and a lecturer on Near Eastern affairs, has done more than anyone else to introduce this striking figure to the Western world.

Until Mr. Joseph Kennedy laid his firm hand upon the American shipping industry, it was a sick business. Mr. Kennedy's problem and the way in which he is grappling with it are lucidly explained by **Gardner Harding** in *What About Our Ships?* Mr. Harding has been a close follower of the American shipping situation, latterly as secretary of the National Foreign Trade Council.

Where History Is in the Making

MORE than two thousand years ago a little essay, called *On the Seven Wonders of the World* was written. It took as its theme a select group of ancient works of art which delighted sightseers of the Alexandrian era. Included in the group were the Pyramids of Egypt, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Temple of Diana, the Statue of Jupiter Olympus, the Tomb of Mausolus, the Lighthouse of Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes.

The authorship of the essay on the seven wonders has been a subject of much speculation. Some attribute it to the Antipater of Solon, others to Philo of Byzantium, still others to Claudius Aelianus. And why the number of wonders chosen was seven has never been precisely ascertained. History and mythology seem to have a particular fondness for the number; on the side of legend there are the Seven Wise Masters, the Seven Wise Men of Greece, the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and the Seven Champions of Christendom; in history, we read of the Seven Hills of Rome, the Seven Days' Battle, the Seven Weeks' War, and the Seven Year's War.

But stranger still, and certainly more remarkable, is that a 2,000-year-old-or-more essay whose origin is virtually unknown should have received such universal recognition down through the centuries; school children are taught the ancient selections with the unquestioned acceptance of a mathematical formula. Few speak of the list as man-made but rather as something that was ordained or just happened.

The tourist who sets out to see these original wonders today should be ready for a disappointment, for all that is left—save in a few instances—are scattered stone and dust. The Pyramids still stand, and the Sphinx has been restored, but earthquakes have destroyed the Tomb of Mausolus, the Lighthouse of Alexandria, and the Colossus of Rhodes. The Temple of Diana's burned ruins are buried in the vanished city of Ephesus.

And even should the tourist visit the monuments chosen on less ancient lists of wonders—the Great Wall of China, the Leaning Tower of Pisa, the Coliseum at Rome, the Cathedral of St. Peter, the Vatican, the Louvre, the Escurial, Angkor, and Stonehenge among them—he will find that contemporary civilization is poorly represented.

What, then, are the world's wonders today? How many of the monuments chosen on the first list of the Seven Wonders of the World still deserve high rating? To what extent has present-day culture and industrialization contributed to the world's beauties today?

For the answers to these questions *Current History* has gone to a group of distinguished individuals. It has asked each of them to nominate, in the light of his own experiences and observations, a list of the Seven Wonders of the World. There were no restrictions. Lists could be made up entirely of either man-made or natural wonders, or a combination of both. The selections did not have to be confined necessarily to present-day wonders.

Those on the "Wonders' Committee" submitting their nominations were:

Carleton Beals, author and traveler.

Admiral Richard E. Byrd, scientist and explorer.

Richard Curle, English world-traveler and writer.

Richard Halliburton, world-traveler and writer.

Malcolm La Prade, "The Man from Cook's."

M. E. Tracy, editor and publisher.

A wide range of varied careers and experiences are reflected in the selections, from the choice by one member of Beethoven's symphonies to the New York subway systems by another. Unlike the original Seven Wonders of the World, monuments are not represented exclusively. Nature, music, literature, engineering, science, invention, the firmament—all find places on the lists of the members of the "Wonders' Committee."

It is impossible, of course, to draw up a single list based on all the nominations since the matter is entirely relative and since there are no fixed standards by which a "wonder" is measured. Mr. Curle, in making his selections, emphasized that the real interest of a list of Seven Wonders, as compiled by travelers, is that it is formed from personal visits and personal reactions. "There are so many wonders," he wrote, "that I am quite unable to say what affect anything would have upon me unless I had seen it for myself."

Only one of the original Seven Wonders of the World is mentioned on any of the lists of the selectors, and that monument—the Pyramids—was

represented on more lists than any other wonder. Appropriately enough, the Empire State Building was chosen by several members of the committee, thus rounding out roughly 5,000 years in architectural achievement.

So diverse were the lists that out of 42 possible nominations, only ten wonders received two or more votes. These were, in addition to the Pyramids and the Empire State Building, the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, the San Francisco Bridges, the Grand Canyon, the Great Wall of China, and the Victoria Falls at Rhodesia, the Taj Mahal, Angkor, and radio.

Culling a list of Seven American Wonders of the World from the combined selections would have the Empire State Biulding as the No. 1 choice with the Grand Canyon, the San Francisco Bridges, the Big Trees of California, the New York City underground systems, Manhattan Island, Yosemite, and Niagara Falls as the supporting cast. It is interesting to note that out of the total number of selections, America received exactly seven.

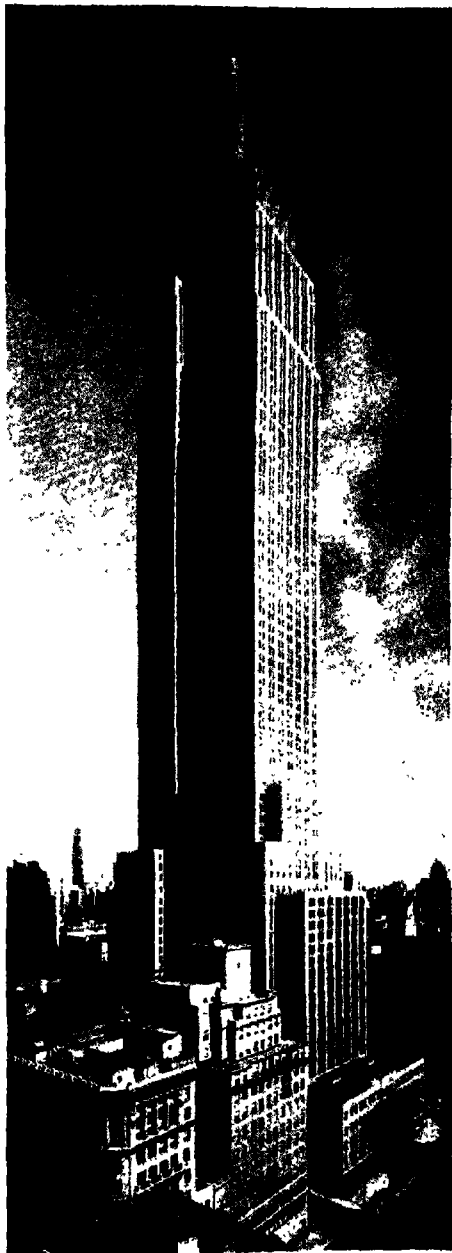
Carleton Beals' selections are generously flavored with "cultural wonders." He has chosen:

Beethoven's symphonies
Dostoievski's Brothers Karamazov
Plato's Republic
Radio
The Piazza Duomo, Florence, Italy
The Alhambra, Granada, Spain
The Greco Room, Toledo, Spain

It is interesting to compare Mr. Beals' list with that of Admiral Byrd, whose extensive experiences with men and machines have probably been strong factor in making the selections of:

Man's use of electricity with special reference to radio
Aviation
The gasoline engine with special reference to the automobile
Moving pictures
Man's use of steam with special reference to trains and steamboats
The printing press
The Ice Age in Antarctica ("Very few people in the world realize that there is a fully-grown ice age going on.")

The advantage of water as a vantage point from which to view world's wonders is illustrated the selections of Richard Curle:

The harbor of Rio de Janeiro as seen from the sea
The Deserted City of Pagan, as seen from the Irrawaddy River in Burma
Empire State Building

MAJESTY IN MANHATTAN: **The Empire State Building is the No. 1 American monument among the Seven Wonders of the World, according to the nominations by Current History's "Wonders' Committee." The Pyramids were first in total votes.**

The white, towering wall of the Peruvian Andes, as seen from the Pacific Ocean
Capetown Harbor, as seen from the slopes of Table Mount
The Pyramids
Victoria Falls in Rhodesia

Richard Halliburton, protesting that it would be easier to name seventy wonders than just seven, compromised by offering two lists—one consisting of man-made wonders, the other natural wonders. The first list:

Angkor Temples in French Indo-China
The Pyramids
The Panama Canal
Manhattan Island
The Great Wall of China
The Taj Mahal
San Francisco Bridges

And Mr. Halliburton's list of natural wonders:

Yosemite Valley
The Grand Canyon of Colorado
The Nile River
Matterhorn Mountain in the Alps
The Harbor of Rio de Janeiro
Mt. Everest
Three waterfalls ("It is impossible to say that one is greater than the other, since each is greatest in its specialty."):
Niagara
Iguazu in the Argentine
Victoria in Rhodesia

Four of the selections on Mr. Halliburton's list of man-made wonders were included on the nominations of Malcolm La Prade:

Angkor Temples in French Indo-China
Mount St. Michel ("Tiny rocky island off the coast of Normandy . . . a medieval poem in stone.")
The Taj Mahal ("Perhaps the world's most perfect and poetically beautiful single building.")
The Empire State Building
The Pyramids
The Great Wall of China
Carcassone, ancient walled city in France ("Embodies all of the glamor and romance of medieval Europe.")

America enjoys a strong representation on M. E. Tracy's list of the Seven Wonders:

The San Francisco Bridges
The Big Trees of California ("Oldest living things in the world.")
The Grand Canyon
Underground systems of New York City, including the subways, river tubes, aqueducts, etc. ("one of the greatest engineering accomplishments in the world.")
The Pyramids
Radio
The Northern Lights ("The mystery and beauty of the aurora borealis entitle it to 'wonder' status.")

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 6)

the trenches in Spain. It is cast in a form not unlike the novel and even as such there is too much emphasis upon conversation of little consequence and not enough upon the substance of Mr. Watson's story. Its chief importance, as a contribution to our literature of the Spanish civil war, is its material on the International Brigade and its picture of the Spanish people—fighting to save their country against fascism, a fight which would have ended months ago were it not for the wholesale use of German and Italian men and materials.

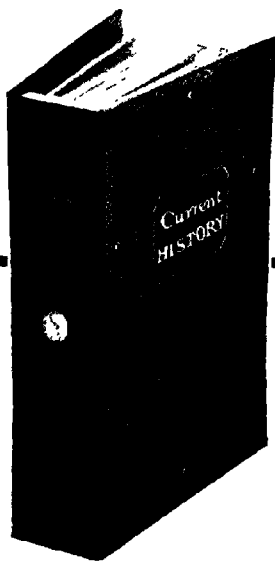
THE threat of another World War, as presented by the Spanish conflict and Japan's expedition in China, give timeliness and added value to Captain Liddel Hart's *Europe in Arms*, a guidebook to the next war. Captain Hart, author of the now famous *History of the World War*, and one of Europe's foremost military experts, has analyzed the war-making and defense abilities of the leading powers and has indicated along what lines of military strategy the next war may be fought.

The Spanish war, Captain Hart says in a tucked-in-chapter (it was received by the publishers after the book was already off the press), is a fairly accurate dress-rehearsal of the next war, except, of course, on a tremendously reduced scale. Fighting spirit and determination among the people will avail little in the face of superior military equipment. Air bombings will be effective but not to the extent described so dramatically by prophets of disaster. Experience shows that they will be "less overwhelming in fulfillment than in anticipation." And on land, the defense still has the advantage. Offensive forces face great risks, risks that might not warrant the anticipated gain, and Captain Hart de-

scribes the attacking force as one which embarks on a venture whose tactical foundations were unsound.

Evaluating the military might of the European powers, Captain Hart finds that Germany has a shortage of officers and shows little advancement in the general composition of the anti-aircraft and field howitzer divisions over the ideas of the last war. He doubts whether Der Fuhrer has yet developed either the equipment or tactics necessary to penetrate a strong and thoroughly modern defense. Russia's army has a strange mixture of old and new ideas. Its tank forces give it its greatest strength but the prominence of horsed cavalry lends it an appearance in peace of a "colossal circus; in war it would probably mean a huge cemetery." In numbers, the Red Army stands foremost in Europe, but a great many of their military ideas are "undigested." Italy, with its stress upon mass conscription, is an example of the fallacy of numbers above all else. "Under modern conditions, and especially the growing menace of air attack, the larger the army, the weaker a country may prove in war. Technical quality counts, not drilled quantity." France has been making the same mistake in her reliance upon huge numbers but is now coming to pay closer attention to equipment and mechanization, along with advanced military strategy for mobilization and transportation. Great Britain is engaged in her greatest rearmament program, modernizing her land, sea, and air forces, with particular stress on the latter.

Considering the question of whether another war will end civilization, Captain Hart believes that there is a reasonable hope that another war may see the collapse of attacking forces before the collapse of civilization. Also, "a sense of the ridiculous may bring the warring peoples to their senses before they can renew the war-effort."

THE general rearmament so competently described by Captain Hart in *Europe in Arms* comes in for sharp criticism by Philip Gibbs in *Ordeal in England.* It is true that the crisis of the crown has been cause for worry, but of great concern, too, he says, is the race to gorge the country with guns and war machines. Rearmament has already disrupted Great Britain by recruiting the country's productive forces for "purposes which have no productive value beyond the machinery of slaughter." Where it will all lead, Sir Philip does not profess to know, but he is frightened at the certainty of the high price Englishmen will have to pay, both economically and socially.

Great Britain has other anxieties. The Spanish war, for one. Sir Philip hits out against the British Labor party and its sympathizers who have accused the government of cowardice in not preventing Germany and Italy from aiding the rebels, but who would have supported direct intervention by Great Britain on the side of the loyalists, even at the risk of a general European war. And at the other end of the social lever are those who want the government to step in against aid to the loyalists by France, Russia, and Czechoslovakia.

Sir Philip bemoans England's lack of leadership. "Looking down on the House of Commons from the Strangers' Gallery, one's heart sinks at the mediocrity of that assembly. There is nothing dynamic there. The two Front Benches are respectable and dull. The Labor party, with a few exceptions, is without quality. The Conservative party fails to produce any sign of a coming leader. . . . It is a tame assembly of sheeplike members who herd into the right lobbies when the bell rings."

But though England has been through and is undergoing an ordeal, the skies are not completely black. The people are virtually untouched by the extremists; they have overthrown the old squalor, the old grinding drudgery of sweated labor; they have more time for leisure, more worthwhile interests.

You can't judge the country, says Gibbs, by that "monstrous ant heap called London nor by the tabloid press which panders to the lowest common denominator of mob psychology." He looks past London to the English countryside, where there are cathedral cities and where time stands still, where life "goes on traditionally in old farmsteads and small villages."

There is little of the tongue-in-cheek about Sir Philip. He speaks with candor about the principals in the real-life drama which found its tentative ending with the abdication of a widely-loved King. He travels through Europe, getting the range on dictators and peoples, praising here, condemning there. One thing about Philip Gibbs: he misses nothing. That, plus a gift of expression, makes his *Ordeal in England* one of the most provocative of recent books. You will find yourself unknowingly swayed by the sweep and persuasion of Gibbs' reasoning until you suddenly pull up with a start and realize that you have just discarded some of your pet theories. And when you try to snuggle back again into your haven of prejudices, Gibbs stands there, challenge in hand. And more often than not, you will find yourself unable to meet it.

THERE have been a number of recent attempts to take the press apart and examine the coils and springs that have given it such a wide importance in our way of life. The best of these are *The Daily Newspaper in America*, by Alfred M. Lee, and *The Press and World Affairs*, by Robert W. Desmond.

Mr. Lee, associate professor of Sociology and Journalism at the University of Kansas, has contributed a biography of American newspapers that must have been years in the making. The reason that a work of such scope has not been done before becomes easily apparent: the extent of the material and the necessary research was too prohibitive. But Mr. Lee has succeeded in accomplishing the seemingly impossible. He has traced the growth and development of newspaper publishing and its integral strands with remarkable clarity and completeness.

The Daily Newspaper in America grew out of curiosity. "I wanted to go behind ordinary business office and city room experiences and gain some perspective upon the nature and role of this significant social instrument. The present book is a report on the extent to which my curiosity has been satisfied." Mr. Lee adds, with refreshing frankness: "On many points, as the text indicates, I am still quite curious."

Yet close inspection of Mr. Lee's 750-page work fails to indicate where even a reference-seeker could possibly be disappointed in seeking either general or specific information about newspaper publishing fields. Apparently, Mr. Lee has overlooked nothing. Here, in clear, readable style are the accounts, not only of daily newspapers but of their managements, production problems, chains and associations, editorial workers and editorial labor organizations, labor questions, advertising, press associations, syndicates, world news organizations, and a myriad of related aspects of publishing. An extensive appendix contains thirty-two tables, from the circulation of foreign-language newspapers to the price of newsprint in 1790.

Mr. Lee finds an evolutionary process at work in newspaper publishing, as in other industries, and society as a whole, that represents "a vast number of largely unplanned actions, expedient to the individuals involved within the limits of their foresight."

IN *The Press and World Affairs*, Robert W. Desmond tells the story behind the foreign newspaper dispatches that few outside the profession ever know. It is an interesting and important story, for it is closely related to the inner workings of world politics and events, involving con-

sorship, suppression, distortion, propaganda, furtherance of special interests.

Governments view news, it is clear from Mr. Desmond's valuable work, as a serious business. Each of them has a heavy stake in world opinion and will try to color the reports of news correspondents in such a way that the picture will not be unfavorable. A number of countries—the United States, Great Britain, and France—will approach the problem with a certain degree of care and even finesse, maintaining an outward appearance of free news channels. But the dictatorships do not even bother with pretenses; newspaper copy must go through a censor and correspondents who persist in discovering uncomplimentary things about the regime are "persuaded" to leave the country altogether.

Mr. Desmond, himself a former correspondent, can testify that the life is far from easy. The training must of necessity be wide and thorough—especially in history, economics, politics, and languages—and an apprenticeship at home as a political correspondent is desirable, if not required. Once appointed to a foreign post, the correspondent must be prepared to live away from home for years at a time—often as many as ten or more. He must acclimate himself to the country and to the people. He must understand their way of thinking and reasoning. He must be able to build up reliable information sources. Most important of all: he must be able to penetrate the heavy layers of impedimenta blanketing the real news.

But pushing news through to the home office requires a wide combination of talents. If the correspondent is in Rome, he cannot get any worthwhile news leads from the local papers because Italy's Fourth Estate says just what Il Duce wants it to and no more. In Italy, as in all dictatorships, the news most eagerly sought is that dealing with opposition movements. This news is carefully guarded but if a correspondent should succeed in ferreting it out he will have to take the teeth out of his story and write it in such a way that it will not give offense. Even then, the cable agents may delete passages from the story, delay it, or throw it away entirely.

Germany considers the press, according to an admission by Herr Goebbels, as "a piano on which the government can play." There is an attempt, too, to make sounding boards out of the foreign correspondents. The Ministry of Propaganda turns out reams upon reams of its music sheets for newspaper consumption but very little of it is of interest to foreign readers—even that portion of it that is based on fact.

And though censorship in Russia is less of a problem to correspondents because it is routine in character, it is there, nevertheless, and it is very difficult to obtain exclusive spot news stories. Factual stories come from official sources and "every agency is bent to propaganda purposes."

Of strong importance to students of economics and finance is Dr. Paul Einzig's *World Finance, 1935–1937*, which follows the author's earlier work, *World Finance, 1914–1935*. Dr. Einzig's new survey discusses the many vital changes and developments in the last two years of the world's financial and monetary evolution. Authoritative—Dr. Einzig's reputation as a financial expert is international—his book makes a complete and detailed summary of the subject. Every event of importance, big or small, is outlined, explained, and appraised. Among the topics given a clear and understandable basis for the lay reader are the Tripartite Monetary Agreement, the devaluation of the franc, stabilization, the gold standard and the gold bloc currencies, the Swiss banking crisis, Roosevelt reflation, Mussolini's monetary management, and Chamberlin's strategy.

The Zionists have shown a little more amenability toward the efforts of Great Britain to give them a homeland of their own and there is the strong possibility that the Jews may yet have a nation they can call their own. For an adequate understanding of the background of this and other questions pertaining to the Jewish race the reader is referred to *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, a three-volume study by Salo Wittmayer Baron.

Mr. Baron, professor of Jewish History, Literature and Institutions on the Miller Foundation at Columbia University, has concerned himself in the first two volumes with the interrelation of social and religious forces which have dominated the long "historio-evolution" of the Jewish people. The third volume contains the notes and bibliography which are extremely valuable *per se*. The work grew out of a nucleus of ten Schermerhorn Lectures, delivered at Columbia University in 1931 under the title, "Jewish Society and Religion in Their Historical Interrelation."

Unlike other histories of the race, Mr. Baron's study has not stressed personalities but has gone to the heart of the fundamental social trends in Jewish life from Biblical times until the present and has described their influence on the ancient Israelite religion, and on medieval and modern Judaism. The work shows the mark of sound scholarship and careful planning. Its documentation consists of an entire volume.

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DO YOU KNOW

The American cane sugar industry of the Territory of Hawaii is the only crop-producing branch of agriculture providing year-round employment for its workers. *That's no accident.* Good management plans field and mill work when the crop is grown, harvested, ground. Repairs, construction, reforestation—are *intentionally* reserved for quieter periods when jobs would otherwise be threatened.

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